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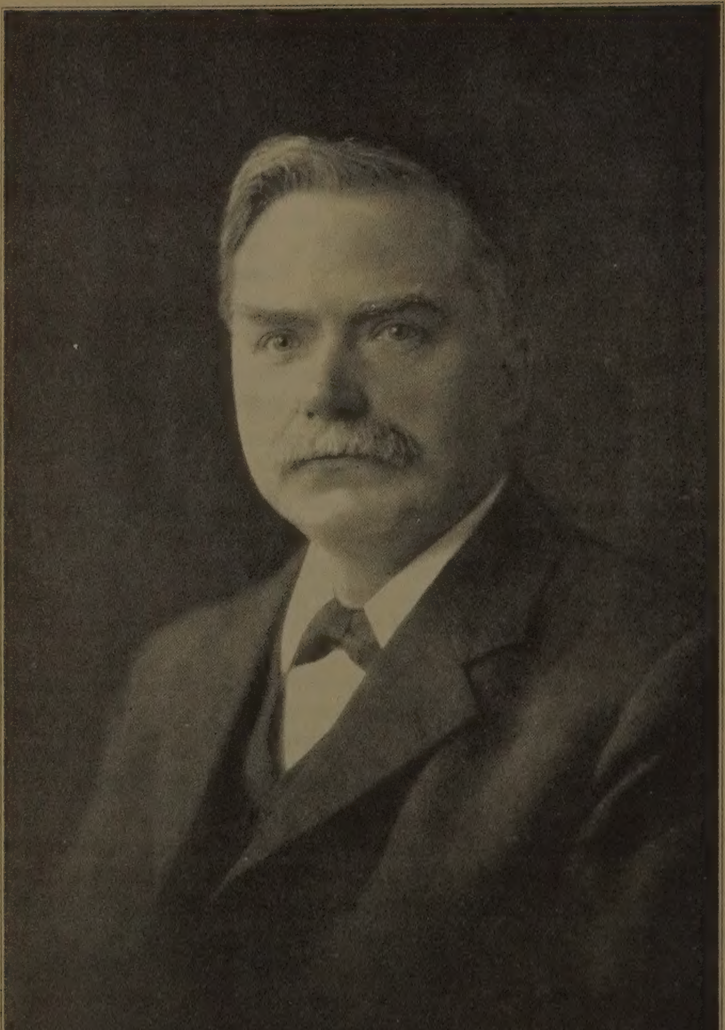

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ARTHUR SAMUEL PEAKE

November 24, 1865—August 19, 1929

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LIBRARY NOTES AND NEWS.

SINCE the publication of our last issue the world of scholarship has been sorely impoverished by the death of the two eminent scholars: Professor A. S. Peake and Professor T. F. Tout, whose work for, and influence upon this Library, and upon the University of Manchester is incalculable. We cannot, therefore, allow the occasion to pass without offering in the following paragraphs a few words of sorrowful tribute to their memories.

ARTHUR SAMUEL PEAKE.

By the death of Professor Peake, which took place on the morning of the 19th of August, Manchester in common with the whole world of Biblical scholarship mourns the loss of a scholar of international reputation, whether in the field of New Testament, or in that of Old Testament studies.

The world has been greatly enriched because he has lived, but it is very much the poorer by reason of his death.

When Milton, in those pathetic lines sang:

> For Lycidas is dead; dead ere his prime!
> Young Lycidas, and hath not left his peer!

and again when Tennyson poured out his passionate lamentation for "the sweetest soul that ever looked through human eyes," there were those who deemed such words the fantasy and extravagance of grief. Yet those of us who have seen closely and felt intimately the occult charm of a soul that is well beloved, especially if that soul be exceptionally pure, and lofty, and gifted, as was our friend, can appreciate the deep underlying significance of such a splendid recognition.

What was said of Bishop Selwyn may be said with equal force of Dr. Peake, that he was a man whose character is summed up from Alpha to Omega in the single word "noble." His temper was as sweet as his manners were winsome, whilst his conduct was spotless. Indeed, he was that rare beautiful and blessed personality "anima naturaliter Christiana."

His life was one of the most significant of his generation in every sense of the word. He was among the first Nonconformists to be elected to a fellowship of his college on the ground of his theological learning, and was the first layman to have conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity, first by the University of Aberdeen, and later by his own University of Oxford, for though the son of a minister, and a man who devoted his whole time to theological studies, he never entered the ministry, believing that he could exercise a much wider ministry as a layman.

A son of the manse, Arthur Samuel Peake was born at Leek, in Staffordshire, on the 24th of November, 1865, where his father the Reverend Samuel Peake was a Primitive Methodist Minister.

It was in that home, during his early years, that he saw into the heart of the church of his father, and gained for the denomination an affection that found expression in life-long devotion and service. After attending the Grammar Schools of Ludlow, Stratford-on-Avon, and Coventry, he was elected to a Scholarship of St. John's College, Oxford, in 1883, at the early age of seventeen. He was fortunate in the hour when he entered Oxford, and received that mental equipment without which he could not have done what he did as a teacher, however deep and vital his own religious experience. He learned much of the historic method and spirit which characterised all his after work, from such teachers as Cheyne, Driver, and Sanday, by whom he was led to the chief living authorities in their particular fields of study.

In 1885 he took Honours in Classical Moderations, in 1887 he was awarded a first class in the Honours School of Theology, in 1889 he became Denyer and Johnson Scholar, and in 1890 he won the Ellerton Essay Prize.

From that time forward Dr. Peake's life was that of a teacher. He was elected to a Fellowship of Merton in 1890, which he held until 1897. In the same year that he was elected to his Fellowship, he became Tutor in Hebrew and Old Testament Theology at

Mansfield College, in succession to Dr. W. B. Selbie, where he came under the influence of Principal Fairbairn.

Oxford had much to offer him, but once he saw the way of duty he responded readily to the call of his own church, and in 1892 he removed to Lancashire, where the remainder of his life was spent. At the moment when Mr. William P. Hartley (as he then was) was feeling his way towards a better training for the ministry of the Primitive Methodist Church he heard of this young Oxford scholar who was lecturing at Mansfield, and under the advice of Dr. Fairbairn, who regarded his assistant as the man best qualified to guide and inspire the theological candidates of his own church in their studies, he accepted the position of Tutor at the Primitive Methodist College, Manchester, now known as Hartley College. That was in 1892. From 1895 to 1912 he was lecturing also at Lancashire Independent College, and for the latter part of that period at the United Methodist College in addition.

In 1904 the Faculty of Theology was established at the University of Manchester, and Dr. Peake was appointed to be the first Rylands Professor of Biblical Exegesis, the chair which he held till the end of his life. This appointment opened out to him a wider sphere of influence, and gave to him an assured position in the world of theology. For many years he was Dean of the Faculty of Theology, and in 1925-27 he filled the office of Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the University, where his wise counsel both in the Senate and on the Court was highly esteemed. In 1928-29 he was elected President of the Free Church Council, and his devotion to the exacting calls of that office seriously undermined his health. His position in the world of scholarship was recognised in 1907 by the University of Aberdeen, and again in 1920 by his own University of Oxford, by the conferment of the degree of Doctor of Divinity.

Dr. Peake's influence on the thought of his students was unbounded, and no one has exercised a greater influence on the church which was his spiritual home. There were those among the laymen and ministers in his own, and also in other churches, who were at first alarmed at his advanced views. Yet, we have all come round to the view that all the churches are his debtors for a successful mediation of the new knowledge. As one writer who knew him has pointed out : " Dr. Peake's greatest service not merely to his own communion but to the whole religious life of England, was that he helped to save us from a fundamentalist controversy such as that which has devastated large sections of the Christian Church in America. He knew the facts which modern study had brought to light. He knew them and he was frank and fearless in telling them, but he was also a simple consistent believer in Jesus Christ, and he let that be seen too, and therefore men who could not always follow him were ready to trust him and let him go his own way. It was his settled faith that by popularizing the confirmed results of Biblical scholarship he was best serving his own generation. If the Churches of England have been able to navigate the broken waters of the last thirty years, it is largely due to the wisdom and patience of trusty and trusted pilots like Arthur Samuel Peake."

Nearly all the younger ministers of the Primitive Methodist Church are "Peake's men," and to a man they all worship him. He was their friend, and they could but admire him for his consideration, his humour, and his sincerity. Whilst leading their thought he imparted to them something of his own piety and love for the Bible.

Dr. Peake was a brilliant lecturer and throughout the thirty years of our friendship, only once, a few months ago, have we seen him use notes, and then only because he was seriously indisposed. He could unfold a really deep theological or critical subject in such a masterly and illuminating manner as to render it intelligible to the least trained mind in his audience.

He had a most catholic spirit, and was ready to lend his aid to anything that would help his own church, or assist in bringing the churches together. If it was a new Hymnal that was under consideration he would throw himself into it and take a detailed part in the work. He was one of the first to move in Sunday School reform, and was one of the first to publish a scheme of graded lessons. He was one of the foremost advocates of Methodist Union, and his weighty speeches which were ever characterized by a spirit of patience and conciliation, both in committee and in public, will long be remembered. He was a tower of strength to those who sought and discovered the way out. But, to him, Methodist Union was no more than a part of the larger reunion for which he hoped, and for which he laboured.

He had an amazing capacity for work, and although far from robust in health the amount of work he got through simply amazed his friends. He carried the handicap of his physical limitations throughout life, but he lost his weakness in his work. His avowed cure for a headache was to start lecturing.

His memory was remarkable, and his exact knowledge of what had been accomplished in the realm of Biblical scholarship whether in this country or elsewhere was something to marvel at.

In 1897 he published his " Guide to Biblical Study," and in 1902 he contributed to the " Century Bible " the volume on " The Epistle to the Hebrews," and from that time onwards his literary output was remarkable, for hardly a year passed without some book appearing from his pen.

The book by which he will be best and longest remembered is " The Bible Commentary " which appeared in 1919, and is generally referred to as " Peake's Commentary." For this he gathered around him a band of well-known scholars who contributed, not only brief notes on the text of all the canonical books, but also a number of articles on various aspects of the Bible history and literature. He himself contributed the sections on Genesis, Isaiah 1-39, Jonah, 1 Corinthians, and some general articles. It was a work of a kind which had not been attempted before, and though it has had its imitators, both in this country and in America, it still remains without rival.

In 1926, in collaboration with Dr. R. G. Parsons, now Bishop of Middleton, he undertook the editorship of the English edition of " Outlines of Christianity " which brought together the ripest fruits of scholarship of Great Britain, America, and the Continent.

Early in life Dr. Peake had grasped the importance of the higher criticism and he never wavered in affirming it. He had no fear of the reaction such as was constantly foretold, he admitted that it was quite possible that deeper study and increasing knowledge might correct many critical conclusions, sometimes in the direction of tradition, sometimes in the other direction, but he did not hesitate to claim that many assured results had been reached, which the future was not likely to reverse, and, in this, his opinion has been abundantly justified.

The title of one of his books published in 1913 " The Bible : its origin, its significance, and its abiding worth " sums up the attitude of scholarship and piety that gave him so great an influence with his students.

His editorship of "The Holborn Review" on thoroughly eclectic lines, was a delight to readers of his own and of other churches. Perhaps the most valuable and attractive feature was his own incomparable reviews of current literature, sometimes running to fifty pages. He also wrote an affectionate, but judicious life of his friend Sir William P. Hartley.

Paulinism was one of his favourite studies, in which he showed originality and mastery of grasp from first to last. This study had its beginning in a paper on "The Development of Paulinism" read before a theological study society, St. Hilary, during his early Oxford days, which has the germ from which he evolved his ripe exposition "The Quintessence of Paulinism," which was given, in 1917, as a public lecture in the John Rylands Library. This was followed up by "Paul, the Apostle: his personality and his achievement" (in 1927), and by "Paul and the Jewish Christians" (in 1928).

In addition to the works referred to in the preceding paragraphs, the following are the titles of his principal contributions to Biblical scholarship, which are matters of just pride to his University:—

Commentary on Colossians in "The Expositor's Greek Testament," 1903; "The problem of suffering in the Old Testament," 1904; Commentary on Job in "The Century Bible," 1905; "Reform of Sunday School Teaching," 1906; "The religion of Israel," 1908; "Christianity: its nature and its truth," 1908; "The Christian Race," 1908; "Election and Service," 1908; "Faded Myths," 1908; "Critical Introduction to the New Testament," 1909; "Heroes and Martyrs of Faith," 1910; Commentary on Jeremiah in "The Century Bible," 2 vols., 1910-1912; "Prisoners of Hope," 1918; "The Quintessence of Paulinism," 1918; "The Revelation of John," 1919; "The Nature of Scripture," 1922; "The Roots of Hebrew Prophecy and Jewish Apocalyptic," 1923; "Brotherhood in the Old Testament," 1923; "The Messiah and the Son of Man," 1924; "Sir William Hartley," 1926; "Elijah and Jezebel," 1927; "Recent developments of Old Testament Criticism," 1928; "Paul the Apostle: his personality and achievement," 1928; "Paul and the Jewish Christians," 1928.

Dr. Peake married in 1892 Miss H. M. Stallman of Oxford, who survives him with three sons, of whom one is the Reverend Leslie Peake, M.A., B.Litt., a Minister of the Primitive Methodist Church.

We must not conclude this notice without some reference to Professor Peake's work for the John Rylands Library, in which he took a very deep interest.

For upwards of thirty years he was actively associated with its administration, and at the time of his death was the only surviving active representative of the original Council of Governors.

From its very inception Professor Peake took a very real and personal interest in its affairs, and rendered invaluable service in the building up of the theological department, which owes much of its present state of efficiency to his initiative and guidance. Since 1905 he had been Chairman of the Book Committee, an office to which he was appointed in succession to Archdeacon J. M. Wilson, upon his removal from Manchester. In 1921 he was made Vice-Chairman of the Council, and in 1927 he was elected Chairman, in succession to Sir Henry Miers.

From the time of the inauguration of the library's series of lectures Dr. Peake was one of the most constant contributors, and any syllabus in which his name did not appear would have been regarded as incomplete. Those who had the privilege of attending his lectures recall with grateful memory the pleasure and the stimulus which they derived from his treatment of any of the great subjects with which he dealt. He was a most illuminating lecturer, bringing to his subject not only great erudition, but remarkable powers of exposition, coupled with great personal charm. He appeared to possess the subtle power of reincarnating the great vibrant personalities with whom he dealt, and of marshalling before his audience in turn Job and his friends, Elijah, Jeremiah, and Paul. He had discovered that it is possible to express the highest truths in the clearest manner with simplicity and with grace.

Dr. Peake was one of the most valued contributors to the BULLETIN, in the pages of which are enshrined some of his most illuminating studies. He had an accurate and acute mind behind a pen that was at once facile and incisive, and it is but bare justice to say that his contributions to our pages assisted very materially to give to the BULLETIN the character which has secured for it a place among the periodicals of a genuine theological and literary standing, and will remain a lasting memorial, not only to his scholarship, but also to his deep interest in the work and influence of the library.

THOMAS FREDERICK TOUT

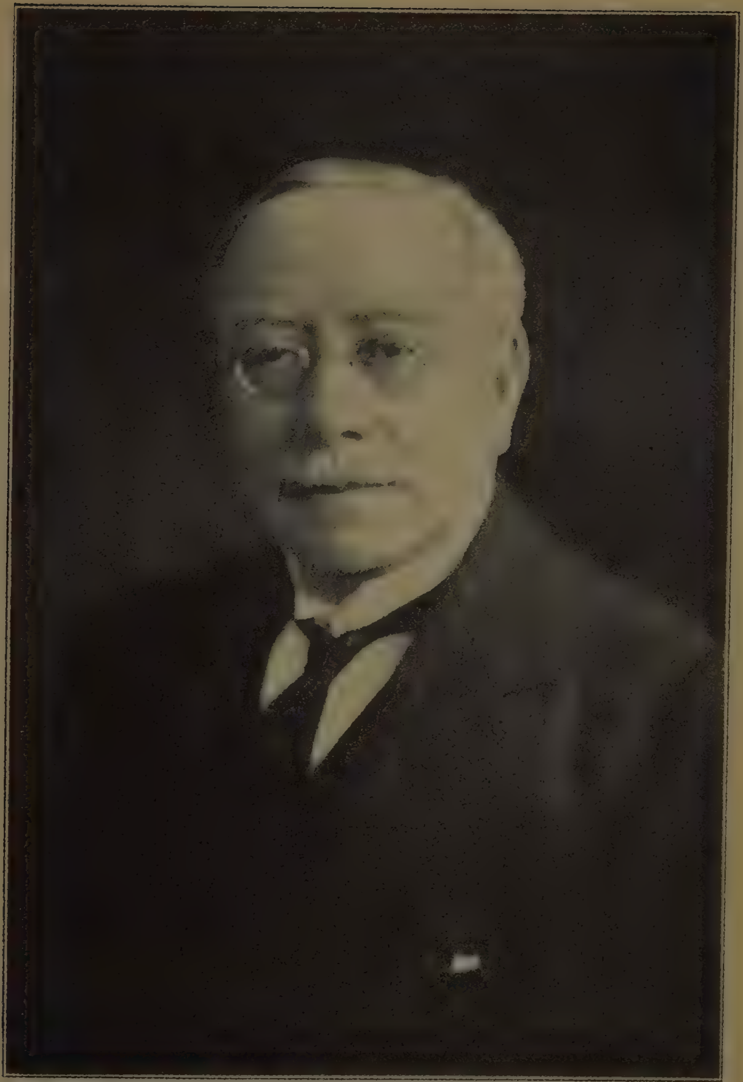
The death of Professor Tout, which occurred on the 23rd of October, at his house at Hampstead, where he had settled upon his retirement from Manchester in 1925, inflicts upon the world of scholarship another incalculable loss.

This loss is keenly felt in Manchester, for Professor Tout was one of the chief of the band of scholars who inspired our University with the determination to become great. It is to-day a great university, occupying a predominant position among the younger universities of the world, and Professor Tout was one of the real makers of it. He had imagination and faith, could conceive great ideas, and at the same time possessed the gift and capacity of organization which enabled him to carry those ideas into effect.

His great achievement was the building up of the Manchester School of History, which can challenge comparison with institutions having greater numbers of students with more adequate resources, and has attracted the admiring attention of all interested in such teaching. He insisted upon a wide survey of the outlines of general history, but he combined with this a concentration upon the original authorities of a small period, and it was this system which in time attracted students from other universities, both at home and abroad.

It is true, as Professor Tout himself declared, a great deal of work had been done before he came to Manchester, and a great deal had been done since. But to him, more than to any other scholar, belongs the credit of having built up, by the aid of team work, a school in which certain aspects of historical research were dealt with more adequately than anywhere else.

Thomas Frederick Tout was born in London on the 28th of September, 1855. He was educated at St. Olave's School, Southwark, and passed to Balliol College, Oxford, with a Brackenbury Scholarship, in 1875, where he had among his contemporaries Sir Richard Lodge, Sir Charles Firth, Dr. Reginald Lane-Poole, Dr. Horace Round and Mr. F. C. Montague. He was a pupil of Stubbs, at that time chaplain of Balliol, and took his Schools in 1877, when he was placed in solitary grandeur in the inevitable first



[illegible]

THOMAS F. [illegible] JR.

September 28, 1855 – October 23, 1920

class "unus solus totus," as Stubbs, we are told, remarked in a decisive triumphant tone to a fellow examiner who had pleaded for a less worthy companion. He was elected to a Fellowship at Pembroke College in 1883, two years after he had begun his teaching career as Professor of History at St. David's College, Lampeter. In 1890 he succeeded Sir Adolphus Ward as Professor at Owen's College, Manchester, where for thirty-five years he took a leading part in the development of the greatest of the new universities.

He was able to combine learning with administrative and constructive ability, and was in consequence a tower of strength to the little band of scholars who were responsible for assisting the University of Manchester to emerge from its swaddling bands of the old federal university, with enlarged resources and ambitions.

Another of his achievements was the planning and successful launching of the Manchester University Press, of which he was the chairman and guiding spirit down to the time of his retirement from Manchester. He also took a large share in the creation of the Faculty of Theology, which came into being in 1924, and of which an account is given elsewhere in the present issue. He was Chairman of Governors of the Manchester High School for Girls ; and was a Representative Governor of the John Rylands Library, in which capacity his services to scholarship will be referred to in a later paragraph.

From 1910 to 1912 he was President of the Historical Association, and was elected a Fellow of the British Academy in 1911. In 1912 he delivered the Ford Lectures in English History at Oxford ; and in 1923 he was the British Academy Raleigh Lecturer. He was President of the Royal Historical Society from 1925 to 1929 ; President of the Mediaeval Section of the International Historical Congress in London in 1913, and a Corresponding Member of the Academy of Caen in 1914 ; Hon. Litt.D. of Durham in 1921 ; a President of the International Historical Congress, Brussels, 1923 ; Litt.D. of Manchester, Hon. Litt.D. of Liverpool, Hon. LL.D. of Edinburgh in 1925 ; and Hon. D.Litt. of Oxford in 1926, when he was also elected Honorary Fellow of Pembroke College. He was elected Corresponding Fellow of the Mediaeval Academy of America in 1927, and Messenger Lecturer, Cornell University, for 1927-28.

Upon the occasion of his retirement from the position of Professor of History and Director of Advanced Studies in the University of Manchester, at the age of seventy, a farewell presentation was made to him on the 2nd of October, 1925 (in the week of the seventieth anniversary of his birth), on behalf of colleagues, old pupils, and friends in all parts of the world, as a mark of their esteem. The presentation took the form of a volume of essays on mediaeval history, written especially in his honour, under the editorship of Dr. A. G. Little and Professor F. M. Powicke, who made the presentation on behalf of the subscribers, in grateful recognition of his work as teacher, scholar, and counsellor during the thirty-five years of his tenure of the chair which he was vacating. The volume is a worthy tribute to a distinguished scholar, whose personality and high ideals it reflects. The contributions were from those who had drawn their inspiration and exacting standards from his leadership.

The long bibliography of his writings with which the volume concludes was a labour of love on the part of Mrs. Tout, whose name, by the special request of the subscribers, was associated with their homage.

After his retirement from Manchester his home at Hampstead became a centre of historical learning, attracting old pupils and scholars from all parts of the world, just as his home at Fallowfield had been for so many years.

His writings include a number of text-books which are familiar to schoolboys, schoolgirls, and university students throughout the Empire. The history of the Reign of Edward I., which he had planned, developed into a wider study of the history of the 13th and 14th centuries, the first results of which appeared in the volume " 1216-1377 " of Longman's " Political History of England." In 1914 he embodied some of the conclusions at which he had arrived, as a result of several years of vacation work in the Public Record Office and elsewhere, in his Ford Lectures, on " The Place of the Reign of Edward II in English History." But the work by which he will be best known and longest remembered is the monumental : " Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England," of which the first two volumes appeared in 1920, followed in 1928 by two further volumes. The fifth and concluding volume has fortunately been left almost ready for the press. This, and an index volume, will be the crowning glory of a long life of brilliant scholarship.

In 1895 Professor Tout married Miss Mary Johnstone, of Stockport, who had been one of his students. Mrs. Tout was devoted to the work of the University, was a tower of strength to her husband, and it is but bare justice to say that much of the success Professor Tout achieved was due to her encouragement and help.

Professor Tout was one of the original members of the Council of Governors of the John Rylands Library, appointed by Mrs. Rylands in 1899, from which time down to his removal from Manchester in 1925, he had been closely associated with the administration of the institution, as one of the representatives of the Owens College and the University of Manchester.

Throughout those years Professor Tout took a deep and personal interest in all that concerned the library, and rendered invaluable service in the building up of the history section of the library's collections, which owes very much of its present state of efficiency to his initiative and guidance. What has been said of Professor Peake's influence on the work of the library is equally true of Professor Tout. He was one of the most constant contributors to the library's series of public lectures, and was listened to with absorbing interest as he unfolded the results of his most recent researches in the fields of study which he had made his own.

He was also a most valued contributor to the BULLETIN, in the pages of which are enshrined many of his most valuable and original historical studies, which will remain as a lasting memorial to his scholarship, as well as to his deep interest in the work of the library.

Upon his removal from Manchester, his colleagues upon the Council, as a mark of their appreciation of his services to the institution, and as the only honour which it was in their power to confer, appointed him an Honorary Governor, so that his connection with the library, in one capacity or another, had been unbroken throughout the thirty years of its history.

Professor Tout's death not only inflicts a most serious loss upon scholarship, but is the severance of the personal ties which bound to him generations of students, colleagues and friends, among whom may be numbered his colleagues on the Council of this library, and the Librarian, who was privileged to enjoy his friendship and wise counsel during more than thirty years.

JOHN GOODIER HAWORTH.

We have also to record the death of Mr. John Goodier Haworth, M.A., J.P., which took place suddenly on Saturday the 31st of August, in the fifty-eighth year of his age.

Mr. Haworth was well known, and was held in the highest esteem in the commercial, political, religious, and social life of Manchester.

He was educated at Rugby and New College, Oxford, and after taking his degree he entered the business of Messrs. James Dilworth & Sons of Manchester, in which he was a partner at the time of his death. He was a familiar figure on the Manchester Royal Exchange, but his interests were by no means confined to commerce. He had filled the position of Chairman of the Manchester District Congregational Board, and at the time of his death was Joint-Honorary Treasurer of that body with his brother Sir Arthur A. Haworth, Bart. He had been Chairman of Lancashire Independent College, and a Trustee of Mansfield College, Oxford. He was a Governor and past Chairman of Silcoates School, and for more than thirty years had been associated with the Boys' Brigade Movement.

For eight years Mr. Haworth had been associated with the administration of the John Rylands Library as a Co-optative Governor, appointed in September, 1921, to fill the vacancy caused by the retirement through ill-health of Sir Alexander Porter. Since September, 1923, he had filled the office of Honorary Treasurer and rendered valuable service in matters financial during his tenure of office.

His genial presence and wise counsel will be sorely missed by his colleagues on the Council, and also by the officials, by whom he was held in the highest esteem.

CHANGES IN THE PERSONNEL OF THE COUNCIL OF THE J.R.L.

The following appointments have been made to fill the vacancies caused by the lamented deaths of the Governors referred to in the preceding pages.

Mr. John W. Marsden, J.P., was elected Chairman of the Council in succession to Professor Peake. Mr. Marsden had filled the office of Vice-Chairman for some years, and in that office he is succeeded by Dr. W. H. Moberley, D.S.O., M.A., D.Litt., Vice-Chancellor of the University of Manchester.

Alderman William Davy, J.P., has been elected Honorary Treasurer in succession to Mr. Haworth.

Professor H. B. Charlton, M.A., Professor of English Literature in the University of Manchester, has been elected Chairman of The Book Committee in succession to Professor Peake.

Sir Christopher T. Needham, B.A., J.P., has been appointed a Co-optative Governor to fill the vacancy on the Council caused by the death of Professor Peake.

Sir Alfred J. Law, M.P., has been appointed a Co-optative Governor to fill the vacancy on the Council caused by the death of Mr. Haworth.

THE THEOLOGICAL FACULTY AT MANCHESTER.

The twenty-fifth anniversary of the creation of the Theological Faculty in the University of Manchester, was commemorated on the 9th and 10th of October last, when addresses were given by Sir Alfred Hopkinson, Dr. Robert Mackintosh, and Dr. MacLachlan, under the chairmanship of Dr. Parsons, the Bishop of Middleton, who is the present Dean of the Faculty. On the second day Professor F. C. Burkitt delivered the public lecture, which took the form of an illuminating resumé of "Twenty-five Years of Theological Study," and which is printed *in extenso* elsewhere in the present issue.

The anniversary lecture was to have been delivered by Professor Peake, but death intervened, and the commemoration was overshadowed by the tragically sudden loss of one who had been a guiding spirit of the Faculty throughout the twenty-five years of its history.

The Bishop of Middleton has contributed an interesting account of the commemoration, in which he has made some reference to the origins and history of the Faculty. Sir Alfred Hopkinson, who was Vice-Chancellor of the University, at the time of its inception, has also contributed a short note upon the debt which the Faculty owes to the Rylands Library and its founder.

THE PASSING OF EMINENT HISTORIANS.

During the past year death has been sadly active amongst the historians, removing first one and then another. On the 20th of May, at the age of 83, Dr. Rodolfo Amedeo Lanciani, Professor of Roman Topography in the University of Rome from 1878 to 1927, passed away. For many years he had been the doyen of Roman topographers, whose works on the Eternal City are of world-wide renown. The beginning of his archæological career coincided with the transformation of

Rome into the capital of Italy, with all that event involved, and it was fortunate that such a man was on the spot to observe what was found in the course of the extensive building operations that this change brought with it. His remarkable knowledge of the history of the city of Rome at all periods gleaned from all kinds of sources, enabled him to produce a number of most interesting books, most of which have been translated into English.

His "Storia degli Scavi de Roma," which unluckily only goes as far as 1605, is an astonishingly rich mine of information. He wrote many articles for Italian archæological periodicals, all of which are solid contributions to knowledge. His monumental plan of Rome, "Forma Urbis Romae," on the scale of 1 : 1000, is of the utmost value to students of all periods of the history of the city. A memoir, with a full bibliography of his writings, is to be found in the "Archivio della Società Romana de Storia Patria" in 1928.

He was a man of great personal charm whose memory will be cherished by all who had the pleasure of meeting him. On the occasion of the visit of King George and Queen Mary to Rome in 1923, he acted as cicerone, and for his services received the honour of K.C.V.O. He was a most attractive lecturer, and paid several visits to this country for the purpose of delivering courses of lectures.

Another historian whose death, at the age of 66, took place on the 26th of June was CHARLES VICTOR LANGLOIS, Director of the French National Archives and Member of the Institute. He was keenly interested in England and its schools of history, and numbered many of our scholars as his pupils and friends. At the time of his death he was the leading exponent in France of the methods of French scholarship which have made French historical work such a stimulating and formative thing in the world of learning. His career was a striking one. He was a pupil of Lavisse, Lefèvre-Pontalis, Léon Gautier, Paul Meyer, and Tardif. His masterly monograph on the reign of Philippe le Hardi was published when he was but twenty-three years of age, and he began to teach at the Sorbonne in 1888. In 1909 he succeeded Luchaire in the chair of mediæval history, and in 1913 he became Director of the National Archives. He is known best for his manual of bibliography, his introduction to historical studies, and his studies on French society in the Middle Ages.

Dr. HANS DELBRÜCK, who died on the 14th of July at the age of 80, was the successor of Treitschke as Professor of History in the University of Berlin, and like his predecessor was famous as an historian of war. Since the war he has been engaged upon a "History of the World," and had published four volumes of it, carrying the story down to the end of the nineteenth century.

Another death we have to record is that of Mr. J. P. GILSON, which took place on the 16th of June. Mr. Gilson was Keeper of the Manuscripts and Egerton Librarian at the British Museum, in which post he succeeded Sir George Warner in 1912. He was joint-editor of the publications of the New Palæographical Society and of the "Catalogue of Royal and King's Manuscripts in the British Museum." His little volume in the "Helps for Students" series provides much needed guidance to workers in the vast collections of manuscripts in the British Museum.

THE WORK OF THE LIBRARY DURING 1929.

As we review the work of the library during the past year, we find abundant evidence of uninterrupted progress along well-established lines, rather than in new developments of outstanding importance. It has been a period of sustained activity.

The possession of so great an inheritance of literary treasures has naturally caused the library to become a place of pilgrimage, not only to the lover of rare books, but also to a large and increasing number of students who have given themselves to the cause of learning. It has been with a view of rendering assistance and encouragement to such students, many of whom are engaged in special branches of study involving original research, that the collections of the library have been developed by the provision of the best authorities in the various departments of knowledge which come within its scope, until it has become a first-class laboratory for historical, literary, philological, philosophical, and theological investigation.

One of the outstanding features of the use made of the library during the year is the large amount of original research which has been conducted by students, not only from our own universities, but also by scholars from other countries. Every encouragement is given to such readers, with the result that, in consequence of the increase in their numbers, the seating capacity of the library has been severely taxed, at times to the point of congestion, and the need, if the present standard of service is to be maintained, for increased accommodation is again emphasized.

LIBRARY LECTURES.

For twenty-eight years in succession it has been our practice to arrange, at the commencement of each session, a short series of public lectures by scholars of recognized authority in their various departments of study. The following is a list of the six lectures which were arranged for the present session. Each of the three lectures already delivered were attended by most responsive audiences, and have been instrumental in imparting a fresh stimulus to study in their respective fields of research.

Wednesday, 23rd October, 1929. "Indigenous Rule in India." By L. F. Rushbrook-Williams, C.B.E., M.A., etc., Foreign Minister of Patiala State, India.

Wednesday, 13th November, 1929. "Alexander's Campaign on the Indian North-West Frontier" (with numerous lantern illustrations). By Sir Aurel Stein, K.C.I.E., F.B.A., D.Litt., D.Sc., etc., Officer on Special Duty with the Indian Archæological Survey.

Wednesday, 11th December, 1929. "An Epigraphical Journey" (with lantern illustrations). By W. M. Calder, M.A., LL.D. Hulme Professor of Greek in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 8th January, 1930. "Romanticism in Shakespeare." By H. B. Charlton, M.A. Professor of English Literature in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 12th February, 1930. "The Fifteenth Century: some recent interpretations." By Ernest F. Jacob, M.A., Ph.D. Professor of Medieval History in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 12th March, 1930. "The Originality of Cicero." By R. S. Conway, Litt.D., D.Litt., Dott. Univ., F.B.A. Honorary Professor of Latin in the University of Manchester.

The lecture of Dr. Rushbrook-Williams on "Indigenous Rule in India," was very opportune. It is printed elsewhere in this issue in a slightly amplified form, and will be read with great interest, not only by those who had the privilege of hearing it, but by a very wide circle of our readers to whom the subject is one of serious study.

We hope to print Sir Aurel Stein's lecture, and that of Professor Calder in our next issue.

ACCESSIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

The additions to the shelves of the library by purchase and by gift during the year which closed on the 31st of December, 1929, numbered 8039 volumes of printed books and manuscripts, of which 7194 were obtained by purchase, and 845 by gift.

The purchases include a collection of French Revolutionary periodicals comprising upwards of 3000 volumes, many of which are of such extreme rarity that we are unable to trace any other copies. We propose, in due course, to print a descriptive list of this collection, so that students of the history of the French Revolution may know what is here available in the form of this fugitive literature, in addition to the extensive collection of proclamations, numbering upwards of ten thousand, and the collection of other literature, numbering not fewer than 10,000 volumes, which deals with that stirring time in the history of France.

One other collection included among the purchases consists of some 1250 volumes of plays, poems, and other monographs of the first half of the eighteenth century. Some of it may be ephemeral, although it is none the less interesting for that reason, whilst it contains a large proportion of anonymous items, many of them apparently unrecorded.

The following titles represent a selection of the current works which have been acquired during the six months which have elapsed since the publication of our last issue. They serve to indicate the character of the additions which are constantly being made to the several departments of literature.

ART AND ARCHITECTURE: ARNOLD (Sir T.) and GRAHAM (A.), "The Islamic Book: a contribution to its art and history from the 7th to the 18th century," with 123 plates, 4to; "ARS ASIATICA, vol. 13: Lés miniatures orientales de la Collection Goloubew au Musée de Fine Arts, Boston, par A. D. Coomaraswamy," 4to; COTTERELL (H. H.), "Old pewter, its makers and marks," 4to; COURBOIN (F.), "Histoire illustrée de la gravure en France, part 4: Table générale," 4to; DODGSON (C.), "Woodcuts of the 15th century in the Ashmolean Museum," Fol.; HOBSON (R. L.), "The later ceramic wares of China," 4to; LOTHER (H.), "Der Pfau in der altchristlichen Kunst," 8vo; LOWE (E. A.), "Scriptura Beneventana : Facsimiles of South Italian and Dalmatian manuscripts from the 6th to the 14th century," with 101 collotype plates, 2 vols., Fol. ; Lamborn (A. G.), "The parish church, its architecture and antiquities," 8vo ; Marle (R. van), "The development of the Italian Schools of Painting, vol. 2 : the Renaissance painters of Florence in the 15th century," 8vo ; Schreiber (W. L.), "Handbuch der Holz-und-Metalschnitte des 15 Jhts., Band 7 : Der Formschnitt," 4to ; Worringer (W.), "Form in Gothic," 8vo ; Worringer (W.), "Egyptian art, the problem of its revaluation," 8vo ; Blomfield (Sir R.), "Byways : leaves from an architect's notebook," 8vo ; Soulier (G.), "Cimabue, Duccio et les premières écoles de Toscane à propos de la Madone Gualino," 8vo ; Whaite (H. C.), "St. Christopher in English mediæval wall-painting," 8vo.

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HISTORY AND ARCHÆOLOGY : Albertini (E.), "L'empire romain," 8vo ; Andrews (H. P.), "History of Maryland Province and State," 8vo ; Adams (G. B.), "The constitutional history of England," 8vo ; Beaussert (P.), "L'Eglise Bénédictine de la Charité-sur-Loire, fille ainée de Cluny : étude archéologique," 8vo ; Bigham (C.), "The Kings of England, 1066-1901," 8vo ; Brownlow (W. E.), "Twenty years among primitive Papuans," 8vo ; Butt-Thompson (F. W.), "West African secret societies :

their organizations, officials and teachings," 8vo; BOTHA (C. G.), "The public archives of South Africa, 1652-1910," 8vo.; BRYANT (A. T.), "Olden times in Zululand and Natal, containing earlier political history of the Eastern Ngūni clans," 8vo; BROSSES (C. de), "Le Président de Brosses en Italie: Lettres familiares écrites d'Italie en 1739 et 1740," 2 vols., 8vo; "CAMBRIDGE History of India, vol. 5: British India, 1497-1858," 8vo; CROWFOOT (J. W.), and FITZGERALD (G. M.), "Excavations in the Tyropœan Valley, Jerusalem, 1927," 4to; CUNNINGTON (M. G.), "Woodhenge: a description of the site as revealed by excavations carried out in 1926-1928," 4to; CHILDE (V. G.), "The Danube in prehistory," 8vo; BUCKLER (G.), "Anna Comena: a study of the Byzantine civilization in the 11th century," 8vo; CARTELLIERI (O.), "The court of Burgundy: studies in the history of civilization," 8vo; COCHRANE (C. N.), "Thucydides and the science of history," 8vo; "COURT ROLLS of the Abbey of Ramsey and the Honor of Clare, edited by W. C. Ault," 8vo; COMSTOCK (S.), "Roads to the Revolution [American], with here and there a byway to Colonial days," 8vo; D'AUVERGNE (E. B.), "Napoleon the Third: a biography," 8vo; DISRAELI (Benjamin), "Letters to Lady Bradford and Lady Chesterfield, edited by the Marquis of Zetland," 2 vols., 8vo; DAVIES (E.), "The prehistoric and Roman remains of Denbighshire," 8vo; DUPLAY (M.), "Robespierre amant de la patrie," 8vo; DUNN (W. H.), "Froude and Carlyle: a study of the Froude-Carlyle controversy," 8vo: ENGELENBURG (F. V.), "General Louis Botha," 8vo; EDWARDS (Ifan ab Owen), "A catalogue of Star Chamber proceedings relating to Wales," 8vo; FREEMANTLE (A. F.), "England in the 19th century, 1801-1805," 8vo; GAZIER (C.), "Histoire du monastère de Port-Royal: documents inédits," 8vo; GRANT (M.), "The passing of a great race, or the racial basis of European history, 4th edition revised," 8vo; GINSBURG (M. S.), "Rome et la Judée: contribution à l'histoire de leurs relations politiques," 8vo; GROUSSET (René), "Histoire de l'Extrème Orient," 2 vols., 4to; "GERMAN diplomatic documents, 1871-1914, selected and translated by E. T. S. Dugdale, vol. 2: the nineties," 8vo; GADD (C. J.), "History and monuments of Ur," 8vo; GWYNN (D.), "Daniel O'Connell, the Irish liberator," 8vo; GEER (W.), "Napoleon and his family: the story of a Corsican clan: Moscow, St. Helena, and Madrid to Moscow," 2 vols., 8vo; GRIMME (H.), "Die altsinaitischen Buchstaben-inschriften auf Grund einer Untersuchung der Originale," 8vo; HASKINS (C. H.), "Studies in mediæval culture," 8vo; HEGEMANN (W.), "Frederick the Great, translated from the German by W. Ray," 8vo; HAMMER (J. von), "Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches, grossentheils aus bischer unbenutzen Handschriften und Archiven," 1834-1836, 4 vols., 8vo; HARPER (S. N.), "Civic training in Soviet Russia," 8vo; HAUSER (H.), "Histoire diplomatique de l'Europe, 1871-1914," tome 1, 8vo; "HERTFORD County Records: Sessions Roll, 1581-1894, Sessions Books, 1619-1651, Sessions Records of the Liberty of St. Albans Division, 1770-1840," 5 vols., 8vo; HAY (M. V.), "The Blair Papers, 1603-1660," 8vo; JACK (J. W.), "Samaria in Ahab's time: Harvard excavations and their results," 8vo; JEANS (Sir James), "The universe around us," 8vo; KEENLEYSIDE (H. Le), "Canada and the United States: some aspects of the Republic and the Dominion," 8vo; "KHAROSTHI Inscriptions discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan, parts 2 and 3," 4to; KOHN (H.), "A history of nationalism in the East, translated by H. M. Green," 8vo; "LONDON: Survey of the ancient and historical monuments, vol. 4: the City," 4to; "LONDON County Council: Survey, vol. 12: Parish of All-Hallows, Barking," 4to; MACDONAGH (M.), "The English King: a study of the monarchy and the royal family, historical, constitutional and social," 8vo; McCORMICK (A. O'Hara), "Communist Russia," 8vo; MERITT (B. D.), "The Athenian calendar in the 5th century," 8vo; MORGAN (J. de), "La préhistoire orientale," 3 vols., 8vo; MATHIESON (W. L.), "Great Britain and the slave trade, 1839-1865," 8vo; MUIR (Ramsay), "British history: a survey of the history of all the British peoples," 8vo; NEWTON (Lord), "Lord Lansdowne: a biography," 8vo; NASH (E. G.), "The Hansa: its history and romance," 8vo; "OSBERT of Clare, Prior of Westminster: Letters, edited by E. W. Williamson," 8vo; PARLETT (Sir H.), "A brief account of diplomatic events in Manchuria," 8vo; PIDAL (R. M.), "La Espana del Cid," 8vo; PLATNER, "A topographical dictionary of ancient Rome, completed and revised by T. Ashby," 8vo; PFISTER (C.), "Pages Alsaciennes, précedées . . . d'une bibliographie des travaux de l'auteur," 8vo;

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Paxton (James), "Illustrations of Paley's natural theology." 1826. 8vo.

Wilson (W. R.), "Travels in the Holy Land, Egypt, etc." 1831. 2 vols. 8vo.

THE THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.

Powell (A. E.), "The after-death life." 8vo.

THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF WALES.

Matheson (Colin), "Wales and the sea fisheries." 8vo.

TOWN-BOOK OF NEWTON-JUXTA-DARESBURY.

Amongst recent gifts to the Library is the manuscript Town-book or Rent-book of Newton-juxta-Daresbury, containing the yearly accounts of that small township from 1708 to 1761. The volume was long preserved in the township, and some time ago it passed into the possession of Lady Daresbury by whom, at the suggestion of the Honorary Secretary of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, it has been presented to the Library for safe custody.

Newton is a small township of seven or eight hundred acres, near Northwich, in Cheshire, and this volume includes the accounts of the Overseers of the Poor, the Constable, and the Surveyor of the Highways.

In an article which Mr. A. Boyd has contributed to the forthcoming volume of the "Transactions of the L. and C. Antiquarian Society" on "The Town Books of Sevenoaks and Newton-by-Daresbury," Mr. Boyd points out that in some ways local accounts of obscure and small townships such as these are of peculiar value as historical documents. Written for the great part in dialect by men of little learning they give what is probably a better idea of speech, manners of life, food, and clothes, of the small farmer of that day than can be learned in any other way. There has been little preservation of such details elsewhere, and we can claim that these accounts supply information that churchwardens' accounts, or the accounts of larger towns cannot give. The entries are made by a different official each year, as each responsible inhabitant took his turn ; and as many were only just able to write, and spelt entirely phonetically, their spelling shows fairly accurately the Cheshire pronunciation of that day. Many of the inhabitants could not, of course, write at all at this period, and it is clear that when the yearly accounts were "seen and allowed" by the responsible inhabitants, they had often to be taken on trust, for sometimes a mark is made instead of a signature, and at other times all the signatures of those who have passed the accounts are written in one hand.

The entries enable us to form a very clear idea of the diversity and number and responsibility of the duties of the Petty Constable of a small town. He had to attend meetings with the High Constable, to be present at the sessions, and deal with other legal matters, to make payments on warrant, to make presentments, to prepare duplicates of the window tax, to present assessors of the land tax, to obtain orders for the appointment of the overseers of the poor, to appoint the watch, to look after the train-soldiers, to make returns relating to all sorts of men, from nonjurors to alekeepers, and from vagabonds to the able-bodied, to look after the gates of the town and keep them in repair, to keep in order the penfold, the stocks, the whipping-post and shooting-butts, to relieve wayfarers, and even to provide the powder and bonfire for the fifth of November. All these services for an average annual expenditure, over a period of forty years, of £3 10s. to £4.

The value of such documents to the student of local history cannot well be overestimated, and it is hoped that the interest which has recently been revived in the preservation of such sources of information, will bring home to those who may have such books or papers in their possession their duty to place them in the safe custody of some national or public institution such as the Public Record Office in London, or the John Rylands Library in Manchester.

NEW LIGHT ON THE DEPOSITION OF RICHARD II.

Mr. V. H. Galbraith, and his collaborator Miss M. Y. Clarke, are to be congratulated upon their discovery, in the Library of Gray's Inn, of a fifteenth-century manuscript, which contains an unprinted text of a chronicle that furnishes weighty evidence for a restatement of the facts regarding the deposition of Richard II. The original text, accompanied by a most valuable introductory study, is printed here for the first time.

STATUTES OF THE REALM.

We are asked by the University of London Institute of Historical Research to call attention to a project for the photographic reproduction of the *Statutes of the Realm*, published by the British "Record Commission" between 1810 and 1828. This work, which is of course indispensable for research on any aspect of English history prior to the accession of George I., has long been partly or wholly out of print, and as second-hand copies are not only very costly, but difficult to obtain at any price, the Institute has undertaken to investigate whether there exists a sufficient demand to make reproduction practicable.

The format proposed is a crown folio (13 ins. × 10 ins.), printed on all-rag paper and bound in full canvas, and it has been ascertained that when reduced to this handy size the text remains easily readable. All the plates would be reproduced full size. The price would necessarily depend upon the number printed, but it is expected that if 200 sets were ordered it would be possible to supply the twelve volumes to subscribers for between £40 and £50 ($200-230). The volumes would reproduce exactly those of the existing edition, and would appear at regular intervals over a period of two to three years. Payment for sets would be made by instalments, due on receipt of each volume, and arrangements would be made for the purchase of single volumes at a price only slightly higher in proportion, probably between £3 10s. and £4 10s. ($17.50 and $22.50).

Before issuing a prospectus and inviting promises of subscription the Institute is anxious to obtain some idea of the probable volume of demand, since the expectation of 250 or 300 orders might enable sets to be offered at prices lower than those suggested. Libraries or individuals who would be likely to purchase sets or single volumes if the work were carried out on the lines indicated are asked to write at once to the Secretary, Institute of Historical Research, Malet Street, London, W.C. 1, indicating what their probable needs would be. Response to this invitation will not be taken as a promise to subscribe.

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF THEOLOGICAL STUDY.[1]

BY F. C. BURKITT, D.D., F.B.A., NORRISIAN PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

IT would be impossible for me to begin my discourse on this very important and interesting celebration of the Silver Wedding of the University of Manchester with Theology without expressing my deep sense of the honour done me in being invited to deliver it, and also of the difficulty and complexity of my task. During the past twenty-five years the study of Theology has been prosecuted with considerable success in all its various branches, and in attempting a general view it is difficult not to lose oneself in a maze of detail. It is indeed a chief characteristic of modern study of all kinds to be specialised. That is necessary ; it is impossible to doubt it. But if real progress is to be attained the specialists must not lose interest in all parts of their subject, even if they cannot be specialists in all parts ; and besides this it is most important, in my opinion, that they retain a vivid sympathy and interest in their subject as it appeals to the average man, to the general public. Otherwise a gap, at last a great gulf, is fixed between the specialist and the average man, with the result that the specialists' investigations grow less and less intelligible and interesting to the average man, who eventually becomes more and more ignorant ; while on the other hand the specialist himself becomes unaware of the ignorance of the average man, and there is a danger lest the discoveries of scientific learning become the property of a coterie, without real influence on the thought of mankind in general.

I am able to make these remarks before this Faculty of Theology without offence, because they do not apply directly here. But this brings me to another matter, on which I must touch. This celebration of a happy twenty-five years of useful and successful activity meets under the shadow of loss. I suppose every man and woman in this assembly feels the loss of Arthur Samuel Peake. And yet perhaps there may be many who hardly realise the debt which we all owe him. For the twenty-five years about which I have to speak to you he has been a guiding and persuasive voice and a consistent personal example, saying in an era of transition and changing values, "This is the way, walk ye in it!" It is unfortunate that the word "peace-maker" in English is habitually confined to those who patch up quarrels and controversies which have already broken out. In reality the value of the peace-preserver is as great as that of the peace-restorer, and it was well observed in the excellent obituary notice of Professor Peake in *The Times* that it is greatly owing to his teaching and influence that we in England have been preserved from a public Fundamentalist controversy. A great part of Peake's life's work was devoted to bridging over the gap of which I spoke, the gap between the specialists' views about the Bible and Bible Religion and the views held by plain men and women brought up on the old uncritical beliefs they had inherited from their parents. Without Peake's eirenic and enlightened guidance that gap would have been much wider to-day: "Blesssed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called sons of God."

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[1] A lecture delivered at the University of Manchester on the occasion of the celebration of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Faculty of Theology.

I think also that it is not inappropriate specially to name here that work, known to you all, called "Peake's Commentary," which came out so opportunely in 1919. It was a book designed to lessen the gap between specialists and non-specialists, and it has been most successful in attaining its aim: I should feel that I had failed in my duty both to myself and to the late Professor Peake, if I had not directly mentioned this excellent work at the very beginning.

But I have also in mind something of even wider import. During the last twenty-five years the chief event, as we all know has been the Great War. I am not going to consider the rights and wrongs of that War, but only some of its after effects. As I see things, the War had a far-reaching influence on Theological study, of which it behoves us to take account. In one sense, of course, it made no difference at all. The date of Daniel or the historicity of Jonah is not really affected by present-day European catastrophes, nor again did the War introduce to philosophers, whether Christian or agnostic, the problem of why the innocent suffer and whether God has any care for men. These are very old problems to thoughtful persons. But the mass of mankind are neither thoughtful nor philosophers, and the old problems came home in the War to tens of thousands who had never thought about such things seriously before, or if they had, had accepted with facile docility the conventional answers offered to them.

The War and its special problems came at a very critical time for the old presentations of Religion in this country. For a whole generation the old sanctions, the traditional theolgies, had been seen by a good many persons to be breaking down. But they were the minority : they were supposed to be "advanced"—generally a term of reproach among Englishmen—and minister after minister of religion used to assure one, from the pulpit and in conversation, that the old conflict between Religion and Science had died down, that very few of their congregation came to them with intellectual difficulties, that the dearth of candidates for Holy Orders was caused entirely by financial obstacles, and that neither they nor their flock had any use for Modernists and the "Higher Criticism." Then came the War : people were confronted with old problems in a poignant form that could not be ignored, and the very weak hold that theological considerations and arguments had upon all sorts and conditions of present-day English men and women was revealed.

During the last ten years the Churches have, it is true, recovered some lost ground, but the theological state of things is different from what it was before, and is likely to remain so. I place this great fact in the forefront of my discourse, partly because it seems to me in itself of the greatest importance, though it must be familiar to you all, but partly also because it is beginning to have a most definite repercussion upon the study of Religion.

The new thing with which we are confronted is not exactly what is called a spirit of unbelief : what it is is a loss of respect for mere authority, and especially the authority of tradition. What is the result ? The result upon many of our more brilliant and intelligent students is that they tend to turn away from the methodical study of the Past. In former days theological study was to a great extent a study of the Past. It was supposed that the Past would give us direct guidance for the Present. Students, of course, have to take the courses of study prescribed for them, but formerly mature theologians studied the Church Fathers, the Apostolic Age, the Epistles of the New Testament, the Prophecies and the Legislature of the Old Testament, in order to find a pattern and an example for the ordering of their own lives and the Churches to which they belonged.

We have moved and are still moving away from this attitude of mind and this direction of our studies. It means that ordinary men and women—sometimes, I fear I must say, ordinary clergymen too—study the Bible less and less. On the other hand, the study of these ancient documents, being now mainly in the hands of those who take an interest in the Past for its own sake, not for what they can get out of it for themselves here and now, has immensely advanced. Let us take a short survey of the progress of the last twenty-five years, following a roughly chronological order of the various branches of our subject.

Assyriology and Egyptology.—The separation between the studies of Assyriology and Theology is now complete. Assyriology is no longer a sort of appendix to Old Testament lore. It may be that recent excavations have unearthed tangible traces of a great Mesopotamian inundation, out of the memory of which have grown both the Gizdubar Babylonian Epic and the Bible tale of Noah's Flood.[1] But it is at best only a question of the growth of legend and the moralisation of folk-tales. It is no impious boast but the plain fact, that we know more about the early history of Man and the beginnings of human civilisation than the writers of Genesis knew.

Meanwhile, what a wonderful panorama of early human history has been unfolded to us in the last five-and-twenty years by the Assyriologists and the Archæologists! We see the dynasties of Mesopotamia stretching back one behind the other to about 4000 B.C., accustomed to writing, skilled in gold and copper work, and above all acquainted with the wonderful process whereby man can fertilise the date-palm. The writer is Sumerian, but behind the Sumerians we must infer yet another race, more ancient still, who invented writing, for even Sumerian cuneiform is an adaptation. The making of pottery—and very fine pottery, too—goes back a long way behind this; so does the domestication of flocks and herds for food. Thus working back we are carried by what seems to be a continuous ladder of civilisation right into the middle of what for Europe is called the age of Neolithic Man, i.e. 5000 to 10,000 B.C., and so within sight of the hunting-folk who lived before these, who had no metals, no agriculture, no domestic animals, but who drew on the walls of their caves pictures of the animals they hunted and ate almost as well as we can draw now—15,000 or 16,000 years ago.

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[1] Peake's own remarks in his Commentary (*Peake's Comm.*, p. 143*a*) are very sound, and are quite unaffected by Mr. Woolley's splendid excavations at Ur in 1928.

As I say, all this range of subjects is no longer an appendix to Old Testament study. Rather it is the task of the Christian theologian to attempt to stretch his inherited theory of Religion so as to cover what we have come to know of the long history of civilisation.

Of Egyptology I am hardly competent to speak. I will only mention one striking publication. For years we have known the somewhat boastful account that Rameses II. gave of his wars with the Hittites, at the end of which he gives the terms of the treaty he made with them in 1280 B.C. In 1906, just within our period, Hugo Winckler discovered the archives of the Old-Hittite Kingdom at Boghazköi (due east of Angora), but it was not till 1916 that the full text of the Hittite version of this treaty was published. In 1920 Professor Langdon and Dr. Alan Gardiner edited both texts, the Egyptian and the Hittite-Babylonian, side by side in parallel columns.[1] Thus, just at the time of the present European settlement, when the echoes of our Great War had hardly died away, there was published the first known treaty of peace between two nations. Before this there had been wars of conquest, successful and unsuccessful, but the Hittite-Egyptian treaty is the earliest known instance of two great Empires trying after a fight to shake hands and be friends.

Old Testament Study.—I must now turn to landmarks in the study of the Old Testament itself. The last twenty-five years has been a period of consolidation and popularisation rather than of epoch-making discoveries. The great revolutionary principle, which we in this country associate with the names of Robertson Smith and Wellhausen, that the prophets came before the Written Law, has passed victoriously into our elementary text-books. It has transformed the features of Old Testament Religion and its development. There are outstanding questions of great moment, which are still under discussion by competent scholars, notably whether the Book of Deuteronomy be not posterior to Jeremiah, but in a sense these are matters of detail. The great point is that a new generation has been brought up trained to look at early Israelite history, and the wonderful outburst of ethical Prophecy associated with the great names of Amos and his successors, with a free open view, not through the blinkers of a neglected but existing Pentateuch.[1]

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[1] *Journal of Egyptian Archæology* for July 1920, pp. 179-205.

The new trend of study during the last twenty-five years has been towards post-exilic Judaism, to the history of Jerusalem under the High Priests.[2] On the beginning of this period indeed a new and unexpected light has been cast by the discovery of a bundle of Israelite documents which came from far up the Nile and are known as the Elephantiné Papyri. It appears from these documents, which are contemporary with Nehemiah, that a colony of Israelites had been settled on the southern Egyptian frontier from some time before Nebuchadnezzar, and that they had there erected a Temple and offered sacrifices to their God, whose Name they called Jaho (YHW). This Temple had lately been destroyed in a riot, and the documents include petitions for help, addressed to various dignitaries in Palestine, including one to the sons of Sanballat. It appears that the community at Jerusalem under the High-Priest Johanan (mentioned in Neh. xii. 23) took no notice of the appeal. Indeed the whole settlement at Elephantine lies outside the Bible story. Its chief value to us is a demonstration that not every development of Jewish religion or life was destined to survive, or even find mention, in official Jewish records of the past.

But the awakened interest in post-exilic Judaism which I mentioned above is not only concerned with extraneous episodes, like the history of the settlement at Elephantine. It is concerned with the main body, its reformed Religion, its hopes and ideals. For Christians, at least, this is surely the most natural attitude, if we are to regard Christianity as the legitimate outcome of Judaism. If it be the outcome of Judaism at all, it is the outcome of post-exilic, fully-developed Judaism. And when we examine this post-exilic Judaism more closely we find that it is not a mere soulless ritualism, controlled by unspiritual and formal priests, but an unique blend of ethical and ritual principles enthusiastically cherished by a whole community, and not by officials alone, so that when the Greeks first made acquaintance with their way of life, the Jews seemed to them to be a race of philosophers.[1]

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[1] Conservative and literary persons sometimes complain of mechanical symbols like J and E and D and P, and it is true that as Wellhausen himself observes (*Einl. in die drei ersten Evangelien*, ed. of 1905, p. 57), "literary analysis can degenerate into child's play." But let anyone read old works like Milman's (e.g. the accounts of Amos and of Josiah's Reform, in bk. viii.), and he will feel the difference the new view has made.

[2] "Jerusalem under the High Priests" is the title of E. R. Bevan's excellent lectures published in 1904 and still unsurpassed as a popular Introduction. I am glad to know that it has now reached a fifth impression.

The peculiarity of the Jews consisted not only in what they were, but also in what they hoped to be. They believed themselves destined to a glorious future, and their hopes of the future found most characteristic expression in the series known as the Jewish Apocalypses. Never have these strange, enthusiastic, somewhat uncouth writings been so scientifically studied as during the last quarter of a century. They had been long neglected. One of them, it is true, had been accepted by the Jews as Canonical Scripture, but the very isolation of the Book of Daniel led to mistaken views of its origin and meaning. Another, what is known as Second Esdras in the Apocrypha, but now is generally called 4 Ezra by scholars, secured a precarious hold on the very edge of what is reckoned as the Bible. The rest of the series, after having had a great popularity among the Jews, from whom in turn the Christians received them, fell into disrepute and ultimately into more or less complete oblivion. The glowing anticipations of the glorious future had not been fulfilled, the End was not yet, as the Apocalypses had seemed to promise. They were rejected by the Rabbis, and if they survived among Christians it was among half-barbarous and isolated Churches, such as those of the Armenians or the Abyssinians.

During the last quarter of a century the Apocalypses have been examined afresh, not in order to extract from them the secrets of the future but to elucidate the hopes and aspirations of their writers and of the Jewish people for whom they were written. For this purpose the Apocalypses are invaluable. We see in them the growth of the ideas of the Kingdom of God and of a near-approaching Judgment to come, to come for all the world. In this connection we see also the mould in which the earliest Christian Hope was cast, and the mainspring of that misdirected enthusiasm which resulted in the bringing to an end of the Jewish State by Titus in A.D. 70. "They thought that the Kingdom of God should immediately appear"—these familiar words of the Gentile Evangelist summarise the earliest Christian expectation and also the mental attitude of the Jewish People for half a century before the Destruction of Jerusalem.

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[1] Quoted by E. R. Bevan, *House of Seleucus*, ii. 167 (*Jerus. under High-Priests*, 42).

So much for the interest and significance of these Jewish Apocalypses. They are all now available for the English student in the second volume of the work called *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, brought out in 1913 under the editorship of Dr. R. H. Charles. I name this edition, because it is a standard book of reference, likely to be in the library of any properly equipped Theological institution. It is not perfect, but that it was possible at all is due to the long labours of various scholars, particularly of Dr. Charles himself, whose edition of the Book of Enoch in Ethiopic, published in 1906, with a full collation of all the known MSS., is a noble monument of British scholarship.[1]

New Testament Study.—When we turn to the New Testament it is difficult to express in a few words the difference between the present state of things and that which prevailed five and twenty years ago. This has not been produced by some outstanding discovery or exposition, but by a gradual infiltration into religious and conservative circles of views once thought extravagant and incompatible with reasonable orthodoxy. Bretschneider's *Probabilia*, which gives a summary of the chief reasons against regarding the Apostle John as the author of the Fourth Gospel, was published in 1820. Lachmann set forth with the utmost lucidity the main reasons for the priority of Mark to Matthew and to Luke in *Studien und Kritiken* for 1835. The texts which say "Ye shall not have gone over the cities of Israel till the Son of Man be come" and "This generation shall not pass till all these things be done" have stood plain and clear in the Gospels from of old. But it is only during our period that English students of theology have taken these things into serious consideration. This is not the occasion for discussing details of controversy. The point to be noted here is the weakening of tradition and the change of attitude, even among scholars who are reckoned conservative. Notable examples of what I mean may be found in Dr. A. E. Brooke's treatment of the Gospel of John in *Peake's Commentary* (1919), or again in the general chorus of approval which welcomed Canon Streeter's learned work called *The Four Gospels* (1924).

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[1] On the text of Enoch and on that of the Ascension of Isaiah see the two Appendices to my book *Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (1914).

It is idle to say that questions of date and authorship and of manner of composition do not affect religious values. It might be true of some religions, but Christianity is far too deeply connected with History, with certain happenings in the Past, not to be affected by a change of view about the documents which tell us all that we know about its first beginnings. The old ship may come to safer moorings in due course, but while the anchorage is being shifted both crew and passengers have an anxious time. Moreover, the direction which critical study of the Gospel has taken during the last twenty-five years has involved difficulty not only for ultra-conservatives, but also for some who at the beginning of this century felt themselves to be in the van of liberal progress.

Many of my hearers will recall the publication of Harnack's *What is Christianity?* The lectures were delivered in the winter of 1899-1900, and the English translation appeared in 1901. That is not so very long ago, and Adolf von Harnack is still alive in an honoured old age. At the time of publication the picture of the Gospel presented in *What is Christianity?* seemed "advanced" indeed to many a traditionalist, but though much had been given up the Portrait of Jesus Christ there sketched and the account there given of His message could be claimed to be in accordance with the most enlightened ideas, to be in fact so uninfluenced by "contemporary discords"—that is to say, contemporary Jewish hopes and fears and prejudices—that these "sink into the background."[1] The Gospel, then, according to Harnack and the school of "liberal" thought of which he was one of the most learned and accomplished exponents, was essentially timeless and general. As one may perhaps put it, it had been a mistake to enshrine the name of Pontius Pilate in the Creed.

The next stage in the study of the Gospel was startlingly different. In 1907 Dr. Sanday of Oxford published a book called *The Life of Christ in Recent Research*, the chief part of which consisted of a set of Lectures delivered in the previous spring at Cambridge. I well remember them! These Lectures introduced the English public to a book called *From Reimarus to Wrede*, written by an Alsatian

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[1] P. 17.

Privat-dozent called Albert Schweitzer. When I got Schweitzer's book itself, it was indeed both instructive and exciting! And this in two ways. *From Reimarus to Wrede* (called in the English translation by W. Montgomery, 1910, "The Quest of the Historical Jesus") was a history of the attempt to write a Life of Christ during the nineteenth century, and it was animated by the general principle that the difficulty which was always confronting these learned and well-meant attempts lay in such Gospel texts as those I quoted above. "This generation shall not pass away"—and by now, in the twentieth century, how many generations have passed away! The End, so confidently expected, did not come.

The problem, in a sense, had always been there, but (as Schweitzer pointed out) it had become acute for the liberalising theologians of last century. Their aim had been to draw a portrait of Jesus which should be both strictly historical and at the same time directly edifying for the very different modern age in which they lived. As I said, Schweitzer's book was instructive in two ways. To begin with it revealed, as no other work I know of has revealed, the nature of the limitations under which German historical theology had been working. Then further, one saw in it the great historical dilemma clearly put: if Jesus Christ be historical He belongs to His own age; if, on the other hand, we persist in asking for a Jesus Christ who is up-to-date we can only get it by constructing a Jesus who is not historical.

Much more might be said on this topic, controversial and uncontroversial. The Eschatological School, as Schweitzer and his supporters are called, often hear that their point of view was narrow and one-sided and that their time has passed,—characteristics that we share, it may be remarked, with the followers of Darwin,—but I feel sure that so far as such judgments are true it is because the general considerations, drawn by the Eschatologists not from conjecture but from the Gospels themselves, can no longer be shirked or explained away by those who study the earliest Christianity. And, above all, I feel that any review of the past twenty-five years would be most inadequate, if it did not lay stress upon Schweitzer and the questions which he forced into the foreground here in England as well as in Germany.

I pass by various interesting developments and speculations connected with my own favourite studies of Textual Criticism and the

Synoptic Problem as not really suitable for the present occasion, though indeed such things in the end do have a very appreciable influence upon Theological notions in general. I need only remind yon that just as Dr. Sanday's studies in the African Latin texts of the Gospels and the discovery of the ancient Syriac Palimpsest of the Old Syriac Gospels were the outstanding events in New Testament textual criticism in the period immediately before ours, this last year has been signalised by the publication of a textual work almost as important as the Sinai Palimpsest itself, *viz.* Professor R. P. Blake's edition of the Old-Georgian text of Mark, to be followed by the other Gospels in due course. This work deserves special mention, because it is almost the equivalent of a third MS. of the Old-Syriac in addition to the Sinai Palimpsest and Cureton's MS. I should add also that our period has seen the publication of the MSS. of the Gospels known as W (1912) and Θ (1913), each of which is of exceptional importance in its way.

The Mystery Religions.—If the announcement of the Gospel and the earliest form of the Christian Hope be intimately linked with the expectation of the near approaching End, and of the last Judgment that will set all wrongs right, then the Jewish Apocalypses about which I spoke just now acquire a special interest. New Testament phrases like the Wrath to come, the Consummation of the age, even "Thy Kingdom come" in the Lord's Prayer, take on new and vivid meaning. Nevertheless, the lines on which the main current of Catholic Christianity has developed are somewhat different. Catholic Christianity comes before the general student of the history of the Roman Empire, in somewhat marked contrast to the ideas suggested by these phrases, as an organisation into which newcomers are admitted singly by a ritual bath or sprinkling, and in which the members acquire and maintain the expectation of a happy immortality after death by partaking of a sacred common Meal. I do not wish for one moment to suggest that this description of Catholicism is more than superficial, but these features of it have struck many observers, none perhaps more forcibly than M. Solomon Reinach, who wrote a well-known general history of Religion, entitled *Orpheus*, from this view-point. According to Reinach, the Gospel, the Message of Jesus, His Life and Death, are mere accompaniments of a single line of Christian traditional lore, the essence of the Religion being in the Sacraments, by participation in which the worshipper attains present purification and future bliss. That essence, in his opinion, is Greek and pre-Christian.

Something like this, something more or less like this, was really exemplified in what are called the "Mystery-Religions," the cults of Isis, of Mithra, and others, which flourished during the first three centuries of our era. During the last twenty-five years the Mystery-Religions have been much studied on the Continent, very often with the implication that in them we shall learn the true nature of Christianity when freed from its Jewish swaddling-clothes. Or again, the religion of the Church has been regarded as a Hellenisation of the pure Galilean Gospel, though the critics who maintain this are by no means agreed by whom this was effected, whether by S. Paul himself or by the men of a later generation.

These inquiries have not raised so much interest in England, unless we include the works of Sir James Frazer. No doubt a great deal of what has been written on these Mystery-Religions is fanciful and unfounded. If anyone needs to be put on his guard in this matter, let him read the sensible and well-documented chapter on Mystery-Religions by Dr. Edwyn Bevan in the book called *Christianity in the Light of Modern Knowledge*, published this year.[1] At the same time the problem is real and deserves attention, particularly from those who are not content to regard sacramentalism as a wholly legitimate development of the Religion of Jesus. For the thoroughgoing sacramentalist, of course, there is no problem here at all. I would only say now, with reference to the question of the Hellenisation of the Gospel, that if we are to locate a gulf or innovation in the way of regarding the Christian Religion I would not put it between Jesus and Paul, or between the Apostolic and the post-Apostolic Age, but between the mentality of Paul and that of his own Gentile converts at Corinth and elsewhere. I know no place where this contrast is better put than in Kirsopp Lake's *Earlier Epistles of S. Paul* (1911).[2]

A word must be said in passing on the Religion of the Manichees—the New Christianity, as it was sometimes called in the fourth century. In no department has so much fresh light been thrown by archæological discoveries during the past quarter of a century as here.

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[1] *Christianity in the Light of Modern Knowledge*, a collective work (Blackie and Son, 1929), pp. 83-115.

[2] P. 437.

Fragments of Manichæan MSS have been discovered in Central Asia by A. von Le Coq, by Sir Aurel Stein and others, and we are now able to study this singularly interesting Religion from utterances of the Manichees themselves, and not only from more or less orthodox refutations of them. The Church founded by Mani has died out, very largely through persecution, but we are discovering that some of the ideas that were championed by the Manichees are so deeply bound up with the facts of life that they tend to reappear in full vigour in unexpected places. I do not myself believe that our world is a Smudge, the result of a regrettable accident, but there are those who feel driven to explain the evils around us by this drastic doctrine.[1]

Church History.—Time would indeed fail me, were I to attempt this afternoon to pilot you through the developments of the study of Church History in recent times, together with that of the movements of Christian Thought and Philosophy. Who could sketch, unaided, an Outline of Christianity ? I hope there are many in this audience who know that my question is rhetorical, and that the thing has been done, done first of all in America, and re-edited to suit English conditions by men of whom the Theological Faculty of Manchester University will always be proud. The name most intimately connected with the American edition of the five volumes of the work called *An Outline of Christianity* is, I think, that of Professor Foakes Jackson, once of Cambridge, and now of Union Theological Seminary, New York. The editors of the English edition—you know their names and their work : one was the ever-regretted Professor Peake, the other is Bishop Parsons.

Christian Worship.—As I say, I am passing over the great department of Church History and Christian Philosophy. But I must devote a few words to one department of Theological study, *viz.* Liturgiology. What dreary visions are conjured up by this word ! Albs, dalmatics, orphreys, aumbries—let us then get rid of it altogether, and speak of the study of Christian Worship. In the last quarter of a century the serious study of the history of Christian Worship seems to me to have entered on a new phase, symptoms of which may be seen in works such as *Messe und Herrenmahl* (1926) by that eminent

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[1] See F. C. Burkitt, *The Religion of the Manichees* (1925), especially p. 69.

Protestant theologian, Professor Lietzmann, whose interest in the history of Liturgy has also been shown by his admirable edition of the Gregorian Sacramentary (1921).

But the mention of the Gregorian Sacramentary brings to mind the name of Edmund Bishop, who did so much by his writings and personal influence to give to the study of Christian Liturgy human, not to say racial and nationalistic, interest. It was not enough for Bishop to know that such and such a prayer or liturgical custom can be placed and dated : he was not satisfied till he could make real to himself and others what was the mental attitude, the feelings, of those who made the prayer. He brought before us the enthusiasm and chivalry of the Gothic and Frankish barbarians, their lack of mental balance, their superstition ; and on the other hand the dignity and simplicity and "rationalism" of what is locally Roman—perhaps a rather mechanical and cold precision, constitutionally averse from change. And all this to illuminate and explain the development of liturgical forms. "He being dead yet speaketh," not only in the stately volume of *Liturgica Historica* (1918), but in his Benedictine disciples at Downside Abbey and above all in the impulse he gave to the historical study of the forms of Christian Worship.

This surely is a matter which in the nature of things ought to be more seriously considered in our Universities. The Bible, of course, has a unique position in Christian study. But Church History as taught is too often a record of Christian quarrels than of Christian aspiration ; while on the other hand the forms in which Christians have embodied their Worship, whether written or deliberately left unwritten, are worthy of the closest and most sympathetic study by all students of theology, for they exhibit Christian aspiration most clearly. We may retain our private judgment as to the objective success of these efforts : the sympathetic study of Christian Worship will not produce faith, but it may remove prejudices. To put the matter in a concrete form, I am sure that a study of the *Didache* and of the Hippolytean Church Order is as important to the theological student as a knowledge of the Arian Controversy, and an aquaintance with mediæval forms of prayer as important as acquaintance with the strife about Investitures or the career of Hildebrand.

Comparative Religion.—There is one other subject upon which I must say a few words before I close and that is what is called Comparative Religion. Here again our first thought must be a consciousness of loss. Professor Rhys Davids and Dr. Farquhar each in their several way made excellent use of their Chair. Of the services of Rhys Davids to the study of Buddhism it would be impudent for me to speak: it will always be a pride to the University of Manchester to remember that for the first eleven years of this Faculty of Theology he was Professor of Comparative Religion. Dr. J. N. Farquhar was but a short time teaching here: had he lived longer I am sure his lectures would have had a notable influence upon the students, for he possessed a rare knowledge of Indian Religion and a great gift of sympathy with it, notwithstanding—or should I not rather say, because of—his own strongly religious beliefs.

I put the matter in this way, because I find among many people, who are certainly not serious theologians themselves, a vague notion that Theology, Christian Theology, is a dull study in itself and very "narrowing" in its effects, and that what is wanted in a new and progressive University is Comparative Theology and plenty of it. And I fancy also there is an idea in this that Comparative Religion will tend to show that all religions are very much alike, in their origin, in their practices, in their ultimate authority. Perhaps indeed this is the case when the Professor of Comparative Religion is someone with a second-hand knowledge of two or more Religions, so that his pupils acquire only a third-hand knowledge.

What is wanted in our world is first-hand and first-rate knowledge, and this requires both time and application. I have attempted to give you a sketch of some of the main movements in theological study during the twenty-five years that the Theological Faculty of the University of Manchester has been in being. How much, how many sides, I have altogether omitted, many of those here present must know. But so many-sided a study, a study which touches so many sides of human life and thought, cannot really be narrowing to those who pursue it, even if they confine themselves to the study of Christian religion alone.

Time—I am well aware that the difficulty is in the time, the very inadequate time that most students can afford to give to their education. Yet the medical students somehow find time to learn how to pass their exacting examinations, and a not all too insufficient number of those who have been medical students find time to obtain the knowledge and skill that makes their advice sought as consulting Physicians. Not everything can be done by what is called practical work: there is a pressing need of theoretical knowledge also.

This is what Universities exist to supply. I started by pointing out the dangers of too great a gap separating the knowledge of the specialist from the half-ignorance of the average man. One of these dangers is that the specialist may cease to direct public opinion in his own subject. In a healthy state of things, for instance, in medicine and hygiene and the study of health, the specialists—that is, the Medical Profession—guide public opinion. Do the Ministers of Religion now really and truly guide public opinion in their own subject? Not, certainly, to the extent they did so in former days. My conviction is that the remedy is to be found neither in the clergy following popular opinion, nor in their continuing to be satisfied with old conventions, whether of ritual or of theological formulation, but in more intensive, more extended, more intelligent and courageous study, so that they may apply to the Present the well-digested lessons of the Past.

THE COMMEMORATION OF THE TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE THEOLOGICAL FACULTY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER WITH SOME REFERENCE TO ITS ORIGINS AND HISTORY.

By R. G. PARSONS, D.D.,

BISHOP OF MIDDLETON AND DEAN OF THE FACULTY OF THEOLOGY.

THE Faculty of Theology in the University of Manchester has now been in existence for a quarter of a century. It was established by an ordinance adopted by the Court of the University on May 5th, 1904. The former federal constitution of the Victoria University, binding together the Owens College at Manchester, the University College at Liverpool and the Yorkshire College at Leeds, had been dissolved only in the previous year. A new Charter had just come into force continuing the Victoria University with a revised constitution as an independent university in Manchester, with the title of the Victoria University of Manchester.

This momentous change, which opened the way for the establishment of the Universities of Liverpool and Leeds, had also a direct bearing upon the formation of the Theological Faculty at Manchester. For a previous attempt to found such a faculty had been abandoned in 1890, mainly as the result of the opposition or indifference of the representatives from Liverpool and Leeds. In neither of these cities were there many theological institutions, whereas in Manchester there were already six denominational colleges in existence. This fact not only made a University Faculty of Theology possible and desirable there, but proved a determining influence in the framing of its constitution.

In conformity with the terms of the will of John Owens, the founder of the Owens College which was incorporated with the Victoria University of Manchester in 1904, the Charter of 1903 stipulates that it shall not be lawful for the Court "to adopt or impose on any person any test whatever of religious belief or profession in order to entitle him or her to be admitted as a Professor Teacher Student or Member of the University or to hold any office therein or to graduate thereat or to enjoy or exercise any privilege thereof." From the outset therefore the principle was clearly established that the only kind of theological faculty which could be contemplated must be an entirely free and open one. Such faculties had already been founded in connection with the Universities of London and of Wales; but the teaching recognised by them was to be obtained only in certain affiliated colleges. The faculty at Manchester was the first entirely free faculty in the kingdom in which theological instruction formed a part of the regular curriculum of the University itself. Over and above any instruction given and received in the affiliated colleges a substantial part of the course required for a Manchester degree in Theology consists of lectures given in the University buildings by professors and lecturers appointed by the University as members of its own teaching staff.

There are at present eight theological colleges recognised by the University: the Manchester Baptist College; Egerton Hall (Anglican); the Hartley Primitive Methodist College; the Lancashire Independent College; the Moravian College, Fairfield; the Unitarian College; the United Methodist College; and the Wesleyan College, Didsbury. There is nothing in the constitution of the Faculty to prevent the recognition of colleges representing other religious bodies. Provided that they were willing to accept the regulations a Roman Catholic or a Jewish College would be as eligible for recognition as are those already recognised.

In view of the fact that the establishment of Theological Faculties is contemplated in some other modern Universities a brief account of the Manchester Faculty may be of interest.

The courses of lectures are classified as follows:—

A. Lectures delivered within the University buildings by Professors and Lecturers of the University.

B. Lectures delivered elsewhere than in the University buildings by Lecturers of the University. Each of these courses is open not only to the members of the affiliated college where it is delivered, but to any other students of the Faculty as well.

C. External Courses, delivered elsewhere than in the University buildings by others than lecturers of the University, but recognised by the Faculty for the purposes of the Certificate in Theology or the B.D. Degree.

There are lectures of Class A provided on every subject required for the B.D. Degree, with the exception of the History of Doctrine and Apologetics. All the lecturing on these two subjects is given in one or other of the recognised Colleges, where also there are delivered lectures on many of the other subjects on the Syllabus. A large choice of lectures is thus offered to each student. While, on the one hand, denominational susceptibilities are not violated, on the other, students have ample opportunity of hearing lecturers of other denominations than their own, appointed by the University solely by virtue of their intellectual qualifications. Most of the students in the Faculty are preparing for the Christian Ministry. It cannot but exercise a beneficent influence upon the future relations between the various denominations which they hope to serve that an increasing number of their younger ministers should have been trained together in such a co-operative school of Theology as Manchester provides.

Candidates for the B.D. Degree must be either graduates of other Faculties, or of other recognised Universities, in which case their course for this degree can be completed in two years; or they must have passed the Intermediate Examination in Arts at Manchester, in which case their B.D. course must extend over at least three years. The subjects for the Final Examination are divided into three groups: (1) Philosophy and Doctrine; (2) Comparative Religion and Ecclesiastical History; (3) Old and New Testaments. Candidates choose one of these groups as their principal field of study, and must take all the papers set upon each of the subjects specified in it, together with certain other subjects selected from each of the other two groups. By this ingenious scheme provision is made for the satisfaction of each student's dominant interest, be it philosophical, historical, or linguistic and literary. At the same time concentrated specialisation in one department of the scientific study of religion is balanced by less detailed investigation of other portions of the vast realm of modern Theology. Successful candidates are not placed in any class list, but may be awarded distinction in their selected group.

The degree of D.D. may be conferred upon applicants who are either Bachelors in Divinity of Manchester of at least four years' standing, or of other approved Universities who have pursued for at least two years a course of study or research at the Victoria University. It is granted after the submission of published work together with a thesis, if these be adjudged to have attained the high standard required for the Doctorate of the University.

In addition to the course for the B.D. Degree the Faculty provides a shorter and simpler course for a Certificate in Theology, the gaining of which furnishes evidence of sound training in the subjects taken. These are similar to those studied in the course for the Degree, but it is possible to obtain the Certificate without knowledge of Hebrew, though Greek is required. Attendance at a certain number of lectures at the University or the recognised Colleges is necessary, and the Course can be completed in two years after the passing of an Entrance Examination.

It is also possible to obtain a Certificate in Biblical Knowledge, which is granted to those who successfully pass an examination. For this Certificate it is not necessary to show knowledge of Greek, Latin, or Hebrew, nor is attendance at any lectures necessary. The course of study requisite to obtain it will afford an useful equipment for any man or woman who desires to be able to teach the Bible in Day School or Sunday School on modern lines.

Arrangements were made in the Summer term of 1929 for an appropriate commemoration of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Manchester Theological Faculty, to take place at the beginning of the Session 1929-30. Early in the Vacation the Faculty found itself with tragic suddenness bereft of both its Professors, by the death of Dr. J. N. Farquhar on July 17th and of Dr. A. S. Peake on August 19th. Those with whom rested the responsibility of decision were agreed that it would have been the wish of these deeply lamented leaders that the projected celebrations should not be abandoned. Accordingly they took place upon the appointed dates. The Secretary of the Faculty, Principal Brewis, is to be congratulated upon the success of the arrangements, for which he was mainly responsible.

The proceedings opened with a reception on the afternoon of Wednesday, October 9th. As originally planned this was to have been followed by a public lecture, which the *doyen* of the Faculty and its most noted theologian, Professor Peake, had consented to deliver on its origins and history. In place of this lecture three addresses were given, dealing with the same subject, by Sir Alfred Hopkinson, who had been Vice-Chancellor of the University when the Faculty came into being, Dr. Robert Mackintosh of Lancashire College, its senior member, and Dr. MacLachlan, the Principal of the Unitarian College.

Sir Alfred Hopkinson gave his audience an illuminating account of the delicate negotiations which fixed the lines upon which the Faculty was started, with many intimate reminiscences of those who had taken a leading part in the project, prominent among them Dr. Maclaren and Bishop Moorhouse. He enlarged with telling force upon the incompleteness of the work of any University which failed to provide for research and teaching upon that most powerful of the spiritual forces which had moulded the history and achievements of mankind, Religion. He insisted that it was a duty owed by a University to the Community whose welfare it sought to serve that it should do what it could to provide for those who intended to become the accredited teachers and Ministers of Religion the opportunity of that free and full scientific study of all its aspects and departments which only a fully constituted University Faculty of Theology could supply.

Dr. Mackintosh, who followed, reminded his hearers of the debt the Faculty owed to the advice of such men from other Universities as Dr. Davidson and Dr. Fairbairn who had served on its Advisory Committee. He paid a tribute, in moving words, to the immense services, first and last, of Dr. Peake, to whom, indeed, the whole celebration was, in a very real sense, a memorial. He recalled the names of distinguished graduates of the Faculty, among them Dr. MacLachlan, Principal Brewis, Professor Waugh, E. J. Price, L. W. Grensted, H. Bulcock, W. S. Davies. He concluded with a strong personal plea for a central group of Theological lecture-rooms at the University. If the Faculty was to do its best work there must be, in his opinion, less duplicating of lecture courses in the affiliated Colleges, and as a consequence more opportunity for specialised teaching than hitherto.

Dr. MacLachlan, after referring to the strong opposition that had been raised to the formation of the Faculty, and the gloomy forebodings of its critics, quoted some words of Professor Peake, spoken in 1922.

"I became the first Dean of the Faculty, and I believe I have not been absent from any of its meetings during its existence. I may perhaps claim to speak with authority on its working. We have not had a single division at the meetings of the Board which has followed Sectarian lines." Dr. Peake had then quoted Sir Alfred Hopkinson as having said that there was no Faculty in the University so harmonious as the Faculty of Theology, not excepting the Faculty of Music. Dr. MacLachlan commemorated among past teachers of the Faculty scholars with names so widely known and honoured as those of Rhys Davids, Moulton, Hogg, Adeny, and Allen, and paid a tribute to the strong support Professor Tout had given to the enterprise from the beginning, whilst busy with the building up of the Manchester School of History which his labours were to make famous.

On October 10th Dr. F. C. Burkitt delivered the public lecture on Twenty-Five Years of Theological Study which is printed *in extenso* in this BULLETIN. Following this was a dinner presided over by the Chancellor of the University, the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, at which, among other guests, there were present representatives sent by the Theological Faculties of Oxford, Cambridge, Durham, and Wales. The speakers, in addition to the Chancellor and the Vice-Chancellor, included the Dean of the Faculty (the Bishop of Middleton, Dr. Parsons), Principal Grieve, Dr. Goudge, Professors Canney and Stocks, and the High Sheriff of Lancashire (Mr. C. Sydney Jones). Thus was brought to a conclusion a fitting commemoration of a notable enterprise.

THE RYLANDS LIBRARY AND THE THEOLOGICAL FACULTY.

BY SIR ALFRED HOPKINSON, K.C., LL.D.

FOR MANY YEARS VICE-CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER AND CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF GOVERNORS OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

THE commemoration of the foundation of the Theological Faculty in the University twenty-five years ago, which was celebrated at the beginning of October, ought not to pass without some definite record of the debt which the Faculty owes to the Rylands Library and to its founder.

Those who were associated with the steps taken to institute the Faculty and who knew the difficulties which had to be faced know well how the existence of the Library and the co-operation between University and Library aided in overcoming those difficulties and in developing the work of the Faculty which has been so strikingly successful. It was an advantage that the two institutions were under independent management, that they were in the same town, and that there was so much similarity in some of the objects they had in view.

In framing the constitution of the Library Mrs. Rylands recognised the great advantage of associating together in a common undertaking the representatives of various religious denominations and of the City and the University. The Library was not only to be a beautiful shrine for the preservation of valuable and beautiful books, but was also to be a home where those who were pursuing philosophical or historical study would carry on their work and find the materials they required. It was also to be a place where widespread interest in these subjects would be promoted by the lectures given and real advance in knowledge made by the researches of those who came to work in the Library and always received hearty welcome and assistance there. Perhaps most valuable of all has been the encouragement given to studies bearing on theology. The admirable series of papers that have been printed in the BULLETIN is a record of really great achievement in pursuit of knowledge—sometimes in regions hitherto unexplored.

An account has already appeared in the press of how, at a critical moment, the generous gift of Mrs. Rylands, made so readily directly the urgency of the call was brought to her notice, enabled the University to overcome a difficulty which might have prevented the institution of the Faculty. It will always be a matter of special gratification that her name has been associated with the Chair of Biblical Criticism which was placed on a permanent basis by her foundation, and that Professor Peake, who held that Chair with such distinction and to whom the Faculty of Theology owes an incalculable debt, was also for some time Chairman of the Book Committee of the Library and afterwards of the Council. For a considerable time, too, the then Vice-Chancellor of the University was also Chairman of the Council of the Rylands Library, and most of the members of the Senate of the University who took an interest in the Theological Faculty, including Professor Tout and Professor Moulton, and also the Vice-Chancellors Sir Henry Miers and Dr. Moberly, have been members of the Governing Body of the Library.

Owing to this close association of the University and the Library, and to the devoted and untiring work of the Librarian in realising in practice the ideals of the Founder, Manchester has afforded an example which others will no doubt follow, not only in England but in countries overseas. It must surely be recognised first that Theology is a suitable and most important subject for study in a University, that this study may be pursued without fetters or tests of any kind, that men of most varied views and trained under widely different conditions can work together in the common pursuit of truth, even on matters in which controversy has often been acute, and that they can carry on this work in complete harmony, gaining by association in common objects a warm regard for each other.

It is indeed unfortunate that the Rylands Library was not placed in immediate proximity to the University so that both teachers and students might have had the advantage of the resources of both and save time and trouble owing to their proximity, and at the same time ample space might have been secured for the extensions of the Library which would have been easily possible on a better site. Even placed as it is, so far away, it has been an inducement to some teachers of the highest distinction who have been invited to the University to take up appointments there for which they were specially fitted, when they were told that they would have the advantage of being able to procure books required for their studies however rare and expensive they might be. It is not too much to say that the success of the Faculty is very largely due to the fact that Mrs. Rylands, the founder of the Library, and those who have had the direction of it, and the members of the University interested in theological study, had common ideals and full agreement as to the manner of carrying them out.

INDIGENOUS RULE IN INDIA.[1]

By L. F. RUSHBROOK-WILLIAMS, C.B.E.,

FOREIGN MINISTER OF PATIALA STATE, INDIA.

I DO not think my choice of a subject needs any apology. India is at the present moment very much in our thoughts; and we, as British men and women, will be called upon during the course of the next twelve months to take decisions which, under Providence, are likely to affect the future of India for the next century. It has been my fortune, after serving the Government of India for eight years, to study at first hand the systems of administration which prevail in that—to most people—almost unknown India which is composed of the internally autonomous States. I have thus enjoyed the opportunity of watching in actual operation both the British and the Indian conceptions of government. A comparison between the two in operation would unquestionably be interesting, but to be useful, might in certain respects appear invidious. I have therefore determined, I trust with your good will, to effect, very briefly and imperfectly, some comparison between the conceptions themselves. In so doing, I want, if you will bear with me, to carry your minds out of the political ideas of England and of the British Commonwealth of Nations into the political ideas of India. In other words, I do not want to address myself so directly to the immediate problems of to-day as to give you, if I may, some kind of a standpoint from which those problems may be approached.

We have, as a nation, undertaken what is perhaps the greatest task in human history—that is to say, we are now engaged in an endeavour to reconcile an ancient Eastern civilisation with the typically Western civilisation which prevails throughout the British Commonwealth of Nations. Our policy, which has been officially laid down and more than once reiterated,[1] is to assist India to full participation in, as an equal member of, the British Commonwealth. As to the importance of that task there can, I imagine, be no two opinions, for it seems likely that if we succeed in this colossal endeavour, we shall have done much to bridge over that difference between the civilisations of the Orient and of the Occident in which so many of the most far-seeing statesmen have seen the grounds of a future menace to the world's peace. If India can be brought inside the British Commonwealth of Nations as a willing participant therein and as a free agent, through her own choice, I think that Commonwealth will have made a greater contribution to the world's peace than even the League of Nations itself.

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[1] A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library, on the 23rd of October, 1929.

Now, if we analyse the fundamental conception of the British Commonwealth of Nations, in what does it consist? Not in community of race, not in community of religion, not even in community of culture; but, I suggest, in a certain common heritage of ideas about Government; and the question I desire to examine for the short time during which I am privileged to address you to-night is this, namely, how far the political heritage of India, how far Indian ideas about Government are likely to help or likely to hinder the inclusion of India within the British Commonwealth of Nations. It is obvious that I could easily spend my time in analysing—even then all too imperfectly—in what the British Commonwealth's heritage of ideas consists; but for the purpose of this lecture I shall make certain rather large assumptions.

In order to compare the political heritages of India and of the British Commonwealth, I shall ask you to agree that our political heritage consists of a complex of ideas, held instinctively rather than consciously, along some such lines as these. We believe that law should be omnipotent. We dislike unchecked executive authority. We hold to Parliamentary institutions as a sign and symbol of our belief that the ultimate source of political authority is the people. Finally, we have a strong tradition of local government. In regard to these four fundamentals, as they seem to me, I desire to analyse with you the political heritage of India. The importance of the enquiry needs no demonstration, for it is plain that if between the political heritage of India and the political heritage of the British Commonwealth of Nations there exists a gulf which is unbridgeable, then the task which we as a nation are essaying becomes infinitely more difficult than it at first sight appears. If, on the other hand, there is underlying the admitted differences in civilization a large common element in the two political heritages, then I am sure you will agree that it makes our task at once easier and more hopeful of an ultimate fulfilment. Plainly, it is only upon the foundations of the past that the fabric of the future can be raised ; and I would ask you to bear with me for a moment if I very briefly indicate to you some of the commonplaces of Indian historical study.

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[1] See particularly the late Mr. E. S. Montagu's declaration in the House of Commons, 20 August, 1917; the Royal Message read at the opening of the Indian Central Legislature in 1921; and Lord Irwin's declaration of November, 1929.

At first sight the whole history of India is nothing but a story—a lamentable story—of the rise and fall of Empires.[1] When the Eastern-moving branch of the Aryan-speaking peoples, who are the ancestors of most of us, as well as ancestors of a large proportion of the Indian people, pursued their earliest settlements in Northern India, they super-imposed themselves upon an early civilisation of a highly complex type, details of which we are only now beginning to recover. From the early Indian settlements of our Aryan-speaking ancestors there grew up in the course of ages national kingdoms of the kind encountered by Alexander the Great.[2] At the time of his invasion Northern India was divided among a number of States, each one highly organised, each one with a tradition reaching back hundreds of years. Shortly after Alexander's invasion we begin to notice the rise of the first of the great Empires of India, that of the Mauryas. The autonomous kingdoms were for a time united into a federation, dominated by a strong central Government with immense power and authority.[3]

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[1] This is, I believe, the impression produced upon most Western minds by the study of the works, not only of English writers like Elphinstone and Vincent Smith, but also of the more readily intelligible (because less detail-loaded) Continental historians such as Grousset.

[2] Smith, *Early History of India*, and the authorities mentioned therein; Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity* (1924).

[3] *Cf.* the accounts given by Megasthenes (McCrindle, *Ancient India*) with the detailed picture preserved in the *Arthasastra* (ed. R. Shamasastry, 1923).

The great Emperor Asoka, as most of you know as well as I, ruled a vast realm which was considerably more extensive than that part of India under the direct government of King George to-day. But towards the end of his reign one sees the thunder-clouds gathering on the North-west Frontier. These clouds, which throughout the course of Indian history gather with distressing regularity, have from time to time precipitated their contents in the form of a devastating deluge over Northern India, and in response to its pressure we see, time and time again, the indigenous polities crumble and fall. Their place is temporarily taken by strong military empires founded by invading conquerors, such as that of the Kushans, which was erected upon the ruins of the Maurya realm, itself ruined by the Sakas. But as the stately pageant of Indian history displays itself before our gaze, we begin to appreciate that in the tide of Empire there is a flow as well as an ebb. From time to time the invaders lose their grip and there recommences the co-ordination of the indigenous Indian political forces, such as we notice in the rise of the Gupta empire.[1] But that Empire in its turn was shattered by one of the most terrible invasions India has ever known, the invasion of the White Huns at the end of the fifth century A.D. But their yoke also did not endure.[2] Out of the chaos which the White Huns had left there arose the age of Rajput chivalry, in which Northern India was dominated by a number of kingdoms whose dynasties were inspired by the same knightly traditions as those which our own studies of mediæval Europe have taught us to understand. To the Rajput empires there succeeded the stunning impact of Islam. Animated by the doctrines of this wonderful religion, hard-fighting Turkish-speaking peoples from beyond the Hindu-Kush swept down through the Khyber Pass, exerting a continuous pressure which, commencing merely with destructive raids, ended by founding over the whole of Northern India a Muslim domination which endured almost to our own day. From the time of Mahmud of Ghazni down to the time of the last pathetic Moghul Emperor, Northern India, save for a few short years, was ruled by those who held the Muslim faith.

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[1] Smith, *Early History of India*; Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India.*

[2] J. J. Modi, *Early History of the Huns* (Journal B.B.R.A.S., 1916-17).

Time will not permit me to dwell upon the marvellous romance of this rise and fall of empires which has dominated Indian history. One is tempted, of course, to seek a physical explanation. May it not be that the invaders, coming as they did from a temperate climate, gradually found their vitality weakened, gradually found their sense of military discipline loosened, until automatically, by sheer force of circumstances, those indigenous kingdoms whom the invaders had originally subdued by force of arms, found the balance of their military inferiority redressed, once more raised their heads, threw off the invaders' yoke, and set up a polity of their own? There is much justification for such a theory: and those who would reject it as fanciful would do well to study the wonderful series of paintings which have come down to us a precious heritage of Moghul culture. In these we see depicted, as it were before our very eyes, the working of those forces which in a few short generations transformed, to quote the late Sir William Hunter's phrase, "ruddy men in boots" into "pale persons in petticoats."

Now, what can we learn from a record like this? What does this rise and fall of empires teach us? I suggest, very little indeed. And yet, if you read the history of India as it is written by English historians, you will find what J. R. Green used to call "drum and trumpet" history bulking so largely that it excludes almost everything else.[1] It seems to me that, if we are to derive from the past of India data which will be of practical service for the present and for the future of India, we must get considerably nearer the picture than has been the fashion among most historians. This rise and fall of empires in India, while it gives rise to interesting philosophical reflections concerning the transitory character of human greatness, while from the standpoint of the ethnologist it is of great interest as showing visibly, as it were, the influence of climate and environment upon human stamina, both mental and physical, still teaches us very little about the people themselves, very little about the ideas which governed ninety per cent of the population of India. The more deeply we study Indian institutions, past and present, the more deeply we dive below the surface, the more we shall be convinced that, as distinct from the ebb and flow of high politics, the social history of the country shows an extraordinary, a unique continuity. Let us never forget that even to-day nine-tenths of the population of India live in villages, remote from political activities. I think it scarcely an overstatement to say that the institutions which principally affect the lives of the largest proportion of the people of India to-day remain, to all intents and purposes, identical with those institutions which affected their lives nearly 2000 years ago ; and I suggest that it will be a profitable subject of study if we should devote a few minutes this evening to an analysis of the practical content of some of these same institutions.

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[1] This is largely due to the fact that the best contemporary authorities for most periods of the history of Northern and Central India are the historians of the Muhammadan courts, who were concerned mostly with the conquests and campaigns of their masters, and frequently swayed by *odium theologicum*, *cf.* the voluminous extracts in Elliott and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians.*

Now there are three typical Indian institutions which have played a part in the history of India which is no less important for being so largely unwritten. Data has to be pieced together from various sources. Every conceivable fragment of historical evidence has to be gathered up, for despite the importance of these institutions the majority of the chroniclers tell us little or nothing concerning the part they have played. These institutions, I suggest to you, are the Family, the Village and the Caste. The importance of the Family is obvious to anyone who knows India to-day, and the earliest evidence that we have concerning the institutions of the Aryan-speaking peoples in India leads irresistibly to the conclusion that the importance more than 2000 years ago was the same as it is at this moment. The Hindu Joint Family[1] differs as an institution completely from the Roman family or from the family as we know it under the individualistic civilisation of Western Europe. Its essence is the common ownership of the means of production, the common enjoyment of the fruits of labour. The eldest male of the family is as a rule its headman, but he has no autocratic powers and he is guided in what he does by the Family Council. Now, it is the family rather than the individual which is the unit of which the Indian State has always taken notice[2] and the importance which we Westerners attach to the individual as such is something entirely alien to the whole political thought of India. Indian society is in essence communistic rather than individualistic, and throughout the whole recorded history of India it is not so much the individual that counts as the family and the clan.

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[1] Banerjea, *Public Administration in Ancient India*, ch. ii.

[2] Mukerjee, *Democracies of the East*, ch. vii.

Now the Village represents the next integration in the social scale in India and the communal life of the village presents some extraordinarily significant features. Indeed, I myself think that we can find one of the reasons for the divergence in political evolution which distinguishes the Aryan-speaking peoples of India from the Aryan-speaking peoples of the West in this very institution. For we must remember that when the eastern-travelling Aryan-speaking peoples invaded India they found in existence a highly-organised civilisation, built round the village community ; the country was ruled by a very highly-developed race whom, for want of a better term, we call Dravidian. There can be no doubt the Dravidian peoples presented a well-marked affinity to the peoples of the first Babylonian Empire. They had developed the arts of life to a very high degree and in this respect probably compared very favourably with their Aryan conquerors. The Aryan invasion of India seems to provide a very interesting parallel in respect of relative cultural conditions, to the conquest of the Anglo-Saxons by the Normans. You had, on the one hand, a highly-developed people from the military standpoint, and you had, on the other hand, a people who had pursued the domestic arts in greater perfection. The more peaceful people—perhaps, from modern standards, the more civilised people—went down under the impact. It seems to me much the same thing is true of India. Indeed, if the comparison be further pursued, it becomes even more interesting : for there can be little doubt that at a still earlier period the Dravidians had imposed their own civilisation upon the more primitive Kolarians. But for our purposes it is here sufficient to note that the characteristic institution of both peoples was the Village. So far as savants have been able to discover, the three elements, Kolarian, Dravidian and Aryan, which have together formed the foundations of Indian village life to-day, can to some extent be distinguished.[1]

Under the Kolarian system the village was probably almost independent, and entirely self-governing with its assembly or *panchayat* which settled village affairs and determined disputes. Its officers were village officers, drawing their emoluments from lands specially set aside for the purpose. There was, it seems, very little higher political integration in the shape of extra-village activities. The Dravidians, when they came, appear to have tightened and centralised the system and to have made the village officials into State officials. The lands which had been set aside under the older system for the maintenance of the officials had now to be cultivated by the people of the village and the produce stored in a local granary from which the village officials, now become State officials, were paid. But there is no reason to suppose that the village lost its control of its own affairs, or that the activities of the Council of Elders was brought to a close. The Aryan contribution to this village civilisation would appear to have taken the form of intruding upon it the joint family system, so that village institutions such as common pasture land, small irrigation canals, local woodlands and the like ceased to belong to the village as such and became the communal property of a particular joint family. But the highly-organised semi-independent village system with which the Aryan-speaking peoples came into contact must have exercised a dominating influence upon their political ideas. For they did not sweep away village institutions, but adopted them and slightly altered them for their own purposes. They continued the Dravidian plan of making village officers into royal officers and you can see that by the time the Laws of Manu were written[1] the village headman was always appointed by the State. Under the Mauryan empire, village government was to a certain extent controlled by the headman, who, it appears from the Arthasastra, must have been transformed into a locally all-powerful royal officer, whose duties included the preparation and submission of the most elaborate and detailed registers dealing with every phase of the life of the village and of the families therein.[2] But it is interesting to note that even under the highly centralised civilisation of the Mauryas the village assembly continued to function.[3] It was the body which decided small civil suits as well as petty criminal cases. It managed the property and the temples, and it is to be noted that majority decision always prevailed.

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[1] F. J. Hewitt, Journal R.A.S., vol. xxi.

Now, the typical Aryan settlement was of the nature of a group of self-governing village communities paying revenue to the Raja. The Raja was not the owner of the soil. The head of the State in

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[1] Manu, vii., 115-117.

[2] *Arthasastra*, ii., 35.

[3] *Arthasastra*, iii., 9.

India throughout history has been, from the standpoint of orthodox Hindu political ideas, a salaried officer having to perform direct and perfectly definite services in return for an equally direct and equally definite emolument.[1]

Under the influence of feudalism in the age of Rajput chivalry the autonomous Indian village still plays its part. The authority of the village headman, as against that of the village council, seems to increase and the village officials now begin to hold their land under conditions of military tenure. An interesting survival of this system under which the village headman is modified into the local commandant of the quota of men-at-arms which the village is expected to supply, is to be observed even to-day in some of the institutions of the Feudatory States of Orissa.[2]

Now the disorder to which India was subjected in the course of the ebb and flow of empires naturally affected in greater or less degree the political importance of the village. Local autonomy—and this is important to notice—still persisted in a very large degree, but the superior integration of the village into a higher political form was materially dwarfed. It is a commonplace among those who know India that even to-day the terms which stand for village institutions, for village forms of Government, are Hindu terms throughout India. It is only when you get to the stage of political institutions which extends beyond the village that you begin to get the Persian terms brought in by Islam. Now in Southern India, where, as we all know, Muhammadan rule was far less potent, far less effective, many of the terms which are used for village institutions are precisely those which occur in the ancient law books. Such words as those which translated mean village assembly, caste assembly, plaintiff, accused, headman, accountant, village funds, village secretary, temple tithes are, as Professor Mukerjee has pointed out,[3] exactly the same as those mentioned in the Smritis.

Now, dealing with this question of the higher integration of the village, we can still see in certain parts of India, less exposed than others to Muhammadan influences, the way in which the thing must have worked. Among the Nairs of Malabar, who have dwelt in geographical isolation and who have never been brought within the boundaries of a centralised Empire until our times, there still exists the system of superior territorial units whose authority embraces numerous villages; and at the time when the early British traders in Southern India were beginning to interest themselves in the institutions of their neighbours, it was the super-village organisation of the Nairs of Malabar that exercised the great and controlling influence over the powers of the local Rajas.[1]

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[1] *Cf. Arthasastra*, i., 13.

[2] Mukerjee, *op. cit.* ch. xiii.

[3] Mukerjee, *op. cit.*, ch. xii.

I ask you to notice that there is in the Indian village an institution which has affected the lives of the majority of the people in India much more directly than any Dynasty or any Empire.

Now comes the third of these characteristic institutions which I want briefly to examine; and that is the Caste. A good deal has been written about caste which is not perhaps based on the closest acquaintance with that institution. I take the liberty of directing your attention to certain specific features of the so-called caste system which have been, I think, insufficiently evaluated. Caste entails specialisation of occupation. It puts the control of policy and the practice of fighting into the hands of definite orders of the community, thereby removing those two entrancing occupations from the ken of the other two orders, namely, the mercantile and the agricultural. As long ago as the reign of Chandragupta Maurya, Megasthenes[2] noticed that husbandmen continued to till the fields while warfare was raging round them: and this age-long division between the orders interested in politics and the orders interested in agriculture and commerce, must have of itself gone far to remove the rise and fall of empires, and the vicissitudes of kingdoms, from the ken of the bulk of the population—a population of villagers as it always has been. Let us further notice that however contrary to current ideas of democracy the institution of caste may appear, each caste is internally a self-governing and a self-ordering community, which imposes upon itself its own laws, through its own institutions of committees and councils, which sees that these laws are enforced wholly independently of the authority of the State. Let us further notice that the caste provides, along one line at least, a higher integration of social life than that which is provided by the village. The castes and sub-castes of India each stretch over areas which include many villages. No study of the Indian polity will be complete without full and adequate recognition of the part which the caste guilds and the caste councils play, not merely in the life of the ordinary man but also in the fortunes of particular kingdoms.[1] Finally, let us notice that in the caste we have a higher integration of social activity which directs and guides the fortunes of the average man to a degree which we Westerners can only regard as a characteristic function of the State.

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[1] Thurston, *South Indian Tribes and Castes.*

[2] Fragment I.

I leave out of reckoning many fascinating topics in connection with the institution of caste which, did time permit, I would ask you to allow me to pursue. Is it too fanciful to suggest that in this institution there exists the only large-scale experiment in selective heredity that the world has seen? For 2000 years the Hindu people has bred in one order for brains, in another order for executive capacity, in a third for commercial aptitude, and in a fourth for proficiency in the qualities which make the good agriculturist; and from that point of view alone I suggest to you that caste is an institution worthy of far more respectful and careful study than the majority of Englishmen feel disposed to allot to it.

Now, I would suggest that from this brief survey of the three characteristic institutions of the Family, the Village and the Caste we shall be prepared to discover that the sphere of State activity is far more restricted in Indian political theory than in the political conceptions of the West.[2] This, indeed, is one of the most characteristic features of the Indian political heritage. From time immemorial in theory, and even to-day largely in fact, the State touches the ordinary man at only one or two points in the whole range of social activity; and it is outside the sphere of State influence that the life of the individual is chiefly integrated into a series of communal and communalistic efforts. By tradition, the State in India has been content to allow many of those activities that we in the West regard as being most characteristic of it, to be discharged for it by semi-voluntary cooperative effort. The village in many parts of India is still charged with ordinary police duties and the State comes in only when the village institutions fail. The village council still remains the tribunal in many parts of India for petty cases, both civil and criminal in nature. In all those parts of India where the village has survived in a comparatively pristine form, you still observe recognised the right of the village to tax itself, quite independent of State permission, for common village purposes. Are there then not good grounds for believing that while through Indian history the fortunes of Empires and States have risen and fallen, the institutions which have governed the real life of the majority of ordinary men have remained in a very remarkable condition of stability ?

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[1] *Cf.* the importance of the influence ascribed to the President of the Jeweller's Association by the Chancellor Kautilya in Act I. of the drama *Mudra Rakshasa:* and the statement of the Gautama Dharma Sastra (xi. 20-21) quoted by Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, "The laws of the cultivators, merchants, cattle-breeders, bankers, and artisans should be authority in their own corporations."

[2] For an able and learned demonstration of the truth of this statement *v.* Mukerjee, *op. cit.*, Part I.

But I should like to employ a few minutes in investigating with you what happened at the time when these characteristic institutions—the Family, the Village and the Caste—were free to fulfil their inherent destiny, and when temporarily relieved from the fear of the conqueror and from the dominance of great armies, they found themselves able to put forth their natural shoots. I think you will agree with me that an investigation into some of the characteristic institutions of the Hindu State is likely to be profitable.

If we turn our attention first to Vedic times we shall see that the Aryan-speaking invaders of India were animated by very much the same political ideas which we have generally considered to be the prerogative of the so-called—now unfashionably called—Caucasian people.[1] The source of political authority is the people. The Samiti was the popular assembly, presumably consisting of heads of families, by which the king was elected and the king was deposed. In the form of the Sabha, which was apparently the popular assembly meeting for particular purposes, eventually narrowing itself down to an inner circle of magnates corresponding to the Witan of Anglo-Saxon times, we recognise the supreme tribunal of the people. According to the Hindu political authorities kingship evolved almost as an accident. In the *Aitareya Brahmana*[2] the origin of kingship is related to the time when the Devas and Asuras were fighting—in other words, to the moment when the necessities of military organisation impelled the Aryans to consider a form of leadership such as that which must undoubtedly have endowed their opponents, the Dravidian peoples, with some advantage in times of war. An alternative theory also pursued by many Hindu law-books is that kingship was found necessary for the purposes of internal administration. As the *Arthasastra* points out[1]: "People suffering from anarchy as indicated by the proverbial tendency of a large fish swallowing a small one,[2] first elected Manu, the Vaivasvata, to be their king and allotted one-sixth of the grain grown and one-tenth of the merchandise as sovereign dues. Fed by this payment, kings took upon themselves the responsibility of maintaining the safety and stability of their subjects." The essentially elective nature of Hindu kingship is shown by the hymns preserved in the *Rig Veda* and *Atharvaveda*[3] and is enshrined in the elaborate coronation ritual which has been preserved to us from later Vedic and early Brahmanic times. I would draw attention to the coronation oath exacted from the Hindu king before he took his seat upon the throne. It is given in full in the *Aitareya Brahmana*.

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[1] See Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, ch. ii. *seq.*

[2] i., 14.

"Between the night I am born and the night I die, whatever good I might have done, my heaven, my life and my progeny, may I be deprived of, if I oppress you."[4]

As the ritual grows more elaborate and the function of the great officers of state—who are for this purpose popular officers and not royal officers[5]—becomes more clearly defined you will see that the coronation oath is regarded as sealing the bond between the king and the people. Breach of the oath was regarded as forfeiting the title to the throne and in recorded proclamations kings took to themselves credit, as being one of their qualifications for monarchy, that they had rigorously observed the oath which they took before their accession.[6]

Throughout the whole of Indian history the theory of the divine right of kings found support only in one single law book,[7] which might more accurately be described as a political pamphlet. Otherwise kingship in India is throughout recognised as an institution which depends upon the choice and acceptance of the people, the king being a salaried servant of the State. The Hindu king, like the king in Islam, is below the law, and in this connection there is an incident, quite casually mentioned in a Jataka story, which is well worth quoting. We are told[1] of a pious Hindu merchant who was called the Anatha-Pindika, or orphans' co-parcener, on account of his extraordinary charity. The Buddha was coming from Rajagriha to Sravasti ; and the charitable merchant desired to purchase for him a garden which belonged to Jeta, a prince of the royal house.

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[1] i. 13. For the King's position as a salaried officer see *Arthasastra*, x., 13.

[2] *Matsyanyayabhibhutah praja*—the famous "Simile of the Fish."

[3] E.g. x., 178 and vi., 87-88. [4] viii., 15.

[5] Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, ch. xxiv. and xxv.

[6] *E.g.* Rudradaman in his inscription (*Epigraphia Indica*, viii., 44).

[7] *Manava Dharma Sastra:* Jayaswal, *Tagore Law Lectures on Manu and Yajnavalkya*, II.: also the same author's *Hindu Polity*, ch. xxvi-A.

The liberal Anatha-Pindika went to the Prince Jeta and said to him :

" ' Your Highness, let me have your garden to make an Arama (rest-house) in it.' ' It is not, O gentlemen, for sale, unless it is laid over with crores (of money-pieces).' ' I take, your Highness, the garden (at this price).'

" ' No, gentleman, the garden has not been taken.' Then they asked the lords of justice whether the garden was bought (taken) or not. And the lords decided thus : ' Your Highness fixed the price and the garden has been taken.'

" On obtaining the decree while the Anatha-Pindika had a part of the garden covered with gold coins, the rest was relinquished by the Prince without further payment."

Jayaswal's comment on the incident is as follows :—

" Here we have a Prince and a private citizen submitting their case to the land court and the court deciding against a Royal Prince, and the Prince accepting the decision—all as a matter of course."

Many similar instances, although perhaps not quite so dramatic, might be cited to show that in Hindu political theory the king is merely an executive officer of the law and is not superior to it. The restricted nature of the royal authority is indirectly shown by another Jataka story. A beautiful wife is desirous of obtaining absolute mastery over her husband's subjects and this is the reply that is made to her : " My good lady, to me the inhabitants of the whole realm are nobodies. I am not their master. I am master only of those who offend against the rulers, and do what is unlawful. For this reason, I am unable to give you mastery and rule over the whole realm."[1] In the administration of justice, the king is the executive officer of a higher form of justice than his own.[2] The law courts throughout the historic ages of Hinduism are not the king's courts; they are the people's courts; and the justice they administer is, in theory at least, the people's justice. Indian tradition, whether Hindu or Muhammadan, knows little of a system of courts of justice which, like ours in England, are in origin as well as in theory an extension of the Royal Household. Even the justice which is done by a Hindu ruler, acting as a supreme court of appeal for his kingdom, is not his *personal* justice, it is the justice of the *darbar* or supreme assembly of counsellors and notables sitting together with the ruler, and is dependent not upon the idiosyncrasy of the monarch but upon the Sacred Law.

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[1] Vinaya Pitaka, Chullavagga, vi., 4, 9. I am indebted to Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, ch. xxxii., for the reference.

Contrary to the general impression which prevails with most of us, the absolute rule of an autocrat is opposed to the fundamental political ideas of India. It would be idle to deny that disturbed conditions, and the military character which has frequently characterised Imperial rule, have tended to invest an Emperor with almost unfettered power over those persons and things falling under his immediate sway. This was particularly true of the Mughal Dynasty, whose empire indeed held together only so long as their army, mainly mercenary in type, was strong enough to overcome the centrifugal tendencies of the smaller powers. The master of such an army could hardly fail to be a despot: but even he did not profess to be superior to the law of Islam. Making all allowance for exceptional conditions, I think it not unfair to say that limited monarchy and the subjection of the monarch, not only to the rule of law but to the advice of his counsellors, has been the tradition of India. Certainly this is true of orthodox monarchy, both Hindu and Muslim. Hindu traditions are especially emphatic upon the point. Not only the law-books[3] but the books of statecraft[4] insist that the king must be guided by his counsellors. I cannot agree with the late Mr. Vincent

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[1] The *Jataka*, vol. i., p. 398. I have followed Jayaswal's translation.

[2] *Cf.* the remark of the judge in the court scene (Act IX.) of the *Mrichchhakatika:* "We are authority in deciding the guilt or otherwise. The rest is in the hands of the King."

[3] *Cf. Manu*, vii., 30-31: *Yajnavalkà*, i., 311.

[4] *E.g.*, *Arthasastra*, i., 15.

Smith[1] in considering these precepts to be mere pious sentiments, inoperative to restrain the authority of a strong ruler. In my view, Mr. Smith and the writers who follow him fail to realise that these precepts were the working rules of the Brahmans who controlled the education, the daily life, and indeed the destiny of a Hindu king. These Brahmans themselves were the counsellors whose authority the law-books extolled. My impression of the reality of those limitations upon the authority of a Hindu monarch which are set forth by the text-book writers, has been the direct result of my own experience of the working of the system as it survives in many an Indian State. Indeed, the whole power and influence of the Brahmans on the body politic, which was certainly as strong, at least, in the past as it is to-day, depends upon the reality of these so-called "pious sentiments." Historical instances are not lacking to illustrate the practical working of these limitations upon autocratic power. Even the great Emperor Asoka found himself defied by his own ministers when he desired to make greater grants to the Buddhist Church than his ministers thought right. He had to give way.[2] The same Emperor, at a later date, made arrangements to be informed when his orders were modified or rejected by his ministers.[3] Again, the powerful Rudradaman confesses in an inscription that he had to pay for the mending of the Sudarsana Lake himself, because his ministers would not agree to the proposal.[4] Instances could be multiplied ; but I think I have given some reason for my own belief that the whole history of kingship in India shows that what we understand as autocratic rule is by no means an essential part of Indian political ideas. In passing I should like you to notice that kingship was not the only form of political institution known. At the time when Alexander invaded India he found there were more republics than there were monarchies in Northern India. We know a considerable amount about them, thanks to the labours of Mr. Jayaswal : and we can construct a vivid picture of how they worked their assemblies (which seem to have been rather Athenian in type) : of their sturdy independent life : and of their general prosperity before they were overwhelmed by superior force.[1] In certain cases, we know of republican or oligarchical forms of government which survived into later times: for it was a State alliance between the King of Magadha and the republican State of the Lichchhavis of Vaisali, that gave rise to the Gupta Empire. And though the republics do not persist for a very long period, the system of government they represent is still familiar to every caste-Hindu in the internal administration of his caste or his craft-guild.

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[1] *Oxford History of India* (1923 ed.), xii.

[2] See the half humorous, half rueful account by Asoka himself (*Pillar Proclamation IV*).

[3] *Rock Series*, Section 6.

[4] *Epigraphia Indica*, viii., 44.

I have already suggested to you that a highly developed local life and a corresponding limitation of the functions of the State must have exercised a marked influence upon the character of political institutions in India. We have previously noticed that the family, the village, and the caste, represented for the ordinary man an integration of higher social activities, apart altogether from the function of the State, such as in the West we can only conceive as resulting from a highly centralised government. We have now found reason to believe that under favourable conditions, that is, freedom from disorder or invasion of a devastating kind, these institutions reached a culmination in the form of limited monarchy or republicanism, the underlying conceptions of which strike us as being curiously Western. Teleologically the State in India is "for agriculture, for well-being, for prosperity, for development"—to quote one of the declarations of an ancient Hindu coronation ceremony. Is not this an ideal closely approximating to our own conceptions of the purpose of organised society?

When the state in India was free to develop along its own lines it seems to have followed very much this course, although the disturbance caused by the frequent superimposition of empires of a military type tended to produce the phenomenon of arrested development. But it is most important to remember that while the village and caste life of the people of India maintains continuity, though empires rise and fall, the individual State, in a less complete degree, does the same thing. There seems to be some inherent dislike of centralisation in the genius of the Indian people: and no empire has ever succeeded in breaking down the barriers between the imperial authority at the centre and the village at the circumference. We ourselves have come nearest to doing so; and it may well be that here we are going seriously astray.

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[1] Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, ch. iv., *et seq.*

Always and everywhere there has been in India, between the imperial authority and the local unit, either the semi-autonomous State or the province which was once a State. Through all the days of imperial rule the individual State survived : bowing its head when compelled to do so : throwing off the imperial yoke when circumstances allowed. From earliest times, it was obligatory on an imperial conqueror to be content with the submission of his weaker neighbours, and to reinstate a vanquished monarch as the ruler of the vassal State ;[1] this theory held good for many centuries. Even the Muhammadan conquerers were unable wholly to ignore it : and in the seventeenth century, in the heyday of Mughal power, imperial governors were careful not to oppress men too much "lest they should run away to the Rajas, which yet falls out very often."[2] I do not say that these small kingdoms retained all their power and independence : most of them suffered grievously. But if some have disappeared altogether, overwhelmed by the wreckage of empires, very many have survived—have survived the Huns, the Turks, the Mughals ; have survived even the all-pervading influence of British rule, and still remain to govern almost half India as allies of our King. May it not be that in the small local unit, the higher integration of the family, the village, and the caste, the most typical genius of the Hindus is to be found ?

Now, it seems to me that we have here something which may be of very practical guidance to us to-day. Until the British came, no imperial authority was in a position to rule the greater part of India from a single centre. The old centralised empires of the past were rigorously limited in their efficiency both by the difficulties of communication and by the survival, even within their own boundaries, of semi-autonomous kingdoms. Indian history seems to afford evidence that local life, local institutions, local integrations are the things which, given freedom, here flourished best.

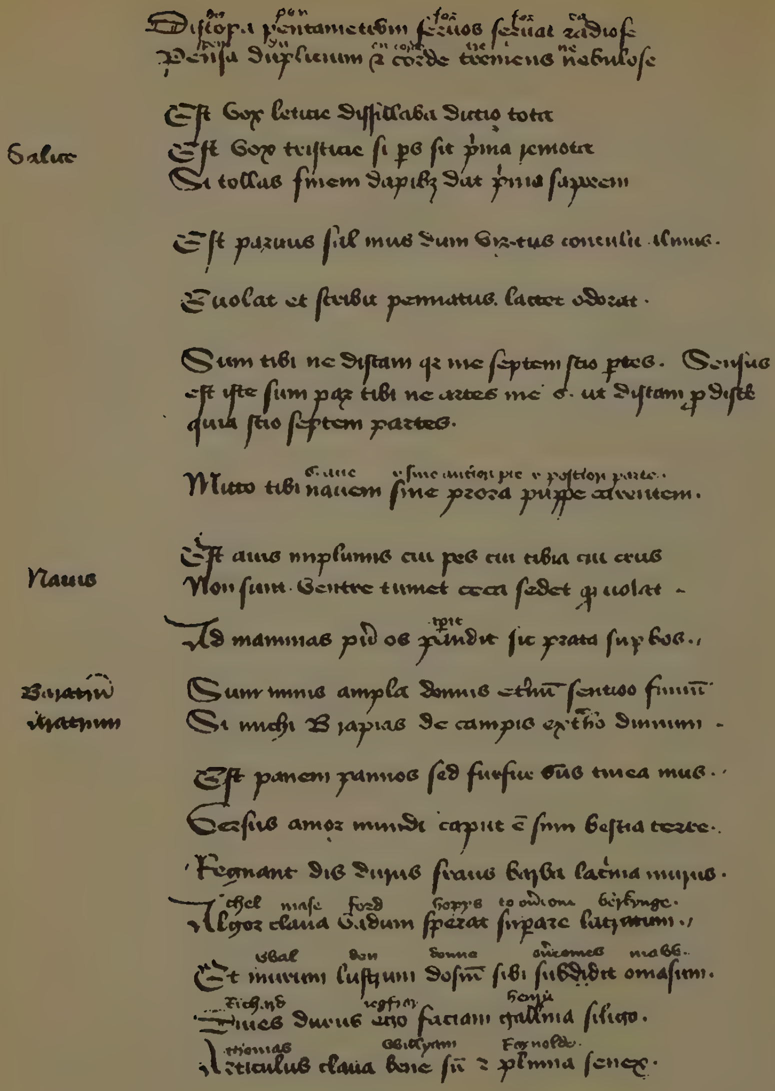
Why should we not try to apply that clue ? It is symptomatic that some of the advanced leaders of Indian political thought have lately been demanding a re-distribution of the modern provincial territories in such a way as to make up local units which have a historical or ethnological cohesion of their own. Does it not seem as though the great importance which Indian history assigns to the local unit will be of

[1] *Arthasastra*, vii., 16. *Cf.* Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, ch. xxxvi.

[2] Bernier.

some guidance to us when we have to consider the political problems which will come before us for settlement in the near future ?

Finally, can we not say, after our analysis, cursory as it has been, of the political ideas and the political heritage of India, that we have found a great deal in common with those political ideas which constitute the political heritage of the British Commonwealth ? We have examined the Indian conception of the rule of law ; we have examined the Indian view of a controlled executive. We have found the beginnings of ideas about Parliamentary government. We have noticed the importance which Indian ideas attach to the institutions of local self-government. Does it not look as if we had something very solid to build on in the attempt to help India in the attainment of her aspirations as a fellow member of the British Commonwealth of Nations ? In pursuance of the line of thought at which we have arrived, we can now perceive the significance of the Federal idea as a clue to the future of India. Is not this the opportunity for bringing within the one fold those autonomous units which we now call Indian States, which are in many respects the survivals of the kingdoms concerning whose grouping and disintegration in the rise and fall of empires I have dealt in passing ? Shall I be accused of undue optimism if I say that I believe we may advance to our task with courage and with confidence, if we keep firmly before our eyes such considerations as I have endeavoured to outline ?



Distoria pentametrum servos servat radiose
Perusa duplicium per corde tremens nebulose

Est vox letitie dissillaba dictio tota
Salue — Est vox tristitie si pes sit prima remota
Si tollas finem dapibus dat prima saporem

Est parvus sil mus dum vertus convenit unus.

Evolat et scribit pennatus. latrat odorat.

Sum tibi ne distam quia me septem scio partes. Sensus est iste sum par tibi ne arces me o. ut distam per distinctionem quia scio septem partes.

Mitto tibi navem sine prora puppe carentem.

Est avis implumis cui pes cui tibia cui crus
Nauis — Non sunt. ventre tumet terra sedet quae volat.

Ad mammas prius os pendit sic prata super bos.

Baratrum — Sum minus ampla domus ... sentiso finium
aratrum — Si michi B rapias de campis extremo dimium.

Est panem pannos sed furfur bos tinea mus.

Sessus amor mundi caput est sum bestia terre.

Regnant dis duplus sinaus ... latina minus.

Algor clava vadum sperat superare latronum.

Et inuenim lustrum dosim sibi subdidit omasum.

...nes durus uno faciam gallina silicio.

Articulus clava bone sit et plumma senex.

RYLANDS LATIN MS. 394, FOL. 27v.

[*To face page* 81.

A MEDIEVAL COLLECTION OF LATIN AND ENGLISH PROVERBS AND RIDDLES, FROM THE RYLANDS LATIN MS. 394.[1]

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THE first three gatherings of the Rylands Latin MS. 394 contain (i) an alphabetical collection of English and Latin proverbs, fo. 2-26^v, and (ii) a miscellaneous collection of riddles and word-puzzles, fo. 27-28^v.

(i) The collection of proverbs is made up of two elements: On the one hand, there is a series of English proverbs, each followed by at least one, and sometimes as many as seven, equivalents in Latin verse: on the other hand, there are, interspersed, many Latin proverbs without English equivalents. The English proverbs are sometimes in prose, sometimes in rough rhyming couplets. The Latin proverbs are generally rhyming Leonine hexameters. The proportion of Latin verses is naturally greater than that of the English: thus, on fo. 2, out of 33 lines, 16 consist of 6 English proverbs with their 10 Latin equivalents, the other 17 being Latin alone; on fo. 6, out

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[1] I have to thank two friends for help in a subject quite unfamiliar to me. Miss F. Harmer, whose references introduced me to Förster's edition of the proverbs from MS. Douce 5, and Mr. G. G. Coulton, who introduced me to Jacob Werner's collection of medieval Latin proverbs.

Information from Professor Hamilton Thompson enables me to make two corrections to the previous article. In letter No. 23, *diocesanus* should not be taken as "our bishop," but "as a member of our diocese": hence there is no question of identifying I. K. as Cardinal Kempe. In No. 32, the *domus de Valle Sārum* is not the Paris house, but the college *de valle scholarium beati Nicholai*, known as Vaux College, at Salisbury, founded in 1261 or 1262 by Bishop Bridport for a warden, two chaplains, and twenty scholars in arts and theology (cf. Wordsworth, *Charters of St. Nicholas Hospital, Salisbury*, pp. 38-40; Wordsworth and Macleane, *Statutes of Salisbury Cathedral*, pp. 94-5).

proverbium, or from an *exemplum*.[1] The Rylands collection might serve as a stock of such "popular proverbs." Other treatises on dictamen gave lists of proverbs (in prose, not verse), under various headings, as *De iustitia*, *De obsequiis*, etc.[2] Miss Waddell quotes an attractive collection from Ponce of Provence, "Proverbs for sons to fathers, Proverbs for fathers to sons," etc.[3] It must be admitted that the proverb in verse form seems less suitable for letter-writing than the prose form, and its actual use in the letters in this Rylands MS. is exceptional.[4]

As regards the character and value of these proverbs : as has been pointed out, they have some glossarial usefulness. Philologically the English forms seem to be too late to be of much importance (mid. fifteenth cent.). It is their light on the social life and popular philosophy of the age which is so valuable and fresh : mixed with moralisations, there is the common sense of the people, and the occasional cynicism of the clerk, who, like the fifth husband of the Wife of Bath, had a poor opinion of women. *The children of Mercurie and of Venus, Been in hir wirking ful contrarious. . . . Therfore no womman of no clerk is preysed.* The clerk, however, is not above taking a laugh at his own order. Contrasted with the unsavoury obsessions of some others, this collection is remarkably free from coarseness. There are two historical references, one to the great storm of 1362 (fo. 13. 19-21), the other, *Dispenser serra pendu on corde* (sic) *trene*, apparently to the execution of the Despensers in 1326. A much larger collection of historical or chronological verses, mostly concerning the fourteenth century, but with one on the battle of Agincourt,[5] will be found in MS. Harleian 3362, fo. 29.

A number of the Latin proverbs, perhaps about a quarter, in this Rylands collection can also be found in the collection of medieval Latin proverbs, mostly from German MSS., published by Jacob Werner (*Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sinnsprüche des Mit-*

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[1] MS. Harl. 5398, fo. 135.

[2] H. Baerwald, *Der Baumgartenberger Formelbuch* (Fontes rerum Austriacarum, xxv), Vienna, 1866, p. 103 f., cf. Rockinger, 835, 850.

[3] *The Wandering Scholar*, p. 138.

[4] Cf. fo. 6^{v}, 16-17, and Letter no. 32.

[5] Cf. the verses in the *Chronicle of John Stone*, ed. W. G. Searle (*Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, 1902), p. 19.

telalters, Heidelberg, 1912): this is a matter which needs further investigation, but at any rate it is clear that there was an international stock of proverbs. We must not imagine that we have here purely the traditional wisdom of the English folk reduced to writing!

As regards the style of the Latin verse, we can only agree with the scribe's naive confession, *Metro peccavi, sensum tamen insinuavi.*

When we come to consider the sources of these proverbs, and their relation to other collections, one very significant fact is revealed. The Rylands collection of proverbs bears the closest resemblance to a collection of English and Latin proverbs in the Douce MS. 5 (in the Bodleian Library), fo. 13-31; like the Ryland collection, this is in alphabetical sections, but is even more defective at the beginning, and only begins with the last proverb of the letter C. The English proverbs of the collection have been printed by Förster in *Festschrift zum xii Allegemeine Deutschen Neuphilologentage in Munchen 1906* (ed. E. Stollreither, Erlangen, 1906), p. 44 ff. The English Proverbs of the two collections, Douce and Rylands, are almost identical, even as to their order. Instead of loading the footnotes of the text with references to the Douce MS., it seems best to give the following comparative table showing how the two collections correspond. The Douce proverbs are numbered 1-150 by Forster: the references to the Rylands MS. are to the page and line.

	Douce.		*Rylands.*	
	1	=	fo. 5.	1
D	2	=		10 D
	3	=		20
	4	=	fo. 6.	1
	5	=		9
	6	=		12
	7	=		18
	8	=		23
	9	=		26
	—			28
	10	=		30
	11	=	fo. 6^{v}.	4
	12	=		10
	13	=		12
	14			—
	15	=	fo. 7.	4 E
E	16	=		12
	17	=		15
	18	=	fo. 7^{v}.	1
	19	=		5
	20	=		8
	21	=		12-13
	22	=		16
	23	=		24
	24	=		28
	25	=		30
	26			—
F	27-38			—
G	39	=	fo. 8^{v}.	2 [G]
	40	=		5
	41	=		7
	42	=		9

Douce.			Rylands.	
G	43	=		11
	44	=		13
	45	=		23-4
	46-7			—
	48	=	fo. 9.	5 [H]
	49	=		8
I	50	=	fo. 9^{v}.	1 I
	51	=		7
	52	=		11
	53	=		18
	54	=		23
	55	=		25
	56	=		27
	57	=	fo. 10.	12
L	58	=	fo. 10^{v}.	7 L
	—			11
	59	=		15-16
	60	=		18
	—			20
	61	=		23
	62	=	fo. 11.	3
	—			12
	63	=		14
	64			—
M	65	=	fo. 12.	9 M
	66	=		12
	67	=		14
	68	=		17
	69	=		21-2
	—		fo. 12^{v}.	1
	—			3
	—			8
	70	=		10
	71	=		13
	72	=		15
	73	=		19
	74	=		21
	75	=		23
	76	=		25
	77	=		30
	78	=		32
	79	=	fo. 13.	3
	80	=		7
	81	=		9
	82	=		13
	83	=	fo. 13^{v}.	1-3
	84			—

Douce.			Rylands.	
N	85	=	fo. 14^{v}.	4 [N]
O	86	=	fo. 15.	4 O
	87	=		6
	88	cf.		8
	89	=		14
	—			18
	90	=		21-2
P	91	=	fo. 15^{v}.	10 [P]
	92	=		13
	—			15-6
	93	=		19
	—		fo. 16.	11
	—			13
	94	=		15
	—			19
	95	=		28
	96	=	fo. 16^{v}.	2
	97	=		11
	98	=		15
	—			18
	—			21
	99	=		24-5
	100	=		30
	101	=	fo. 17.	3
	102	=		7
	103	=		12
	104	=		15
	105	=		19
	106	=		23
	—			26
	107	=		29
	108	=	fo. 17^{v}.	5
	109	=		7
	110	=		10
	111	=	fo. 17^{v}.	16
	112	=		19
	113	=		21
	114	=		24-5
	115	=	fo. 18	2
	116	=		10
	117	=		7
	—			12
	118	=		14
	—			20
	119	=		24
	120	=		26-9
	121	=	fo. 18^{v}.	19

	Douce.			*Rylands.*	
P	—			21	
	122	=		26	
	—			28	
	—		fo. 18^{v}.	31-19. 2	
	123	=	fo. 19.	5	
	—			7	
	—			25-6	
	124			—	
R	125	=	fo. 20^{v}.	6	R
	126	=		1	
	—			20	
	—			22-3	
	—			25	
S	127	=	fo. 21^{v}.	1	S
	128	=		6	
	129	=		8-9	
	—			13	
	130	=		16	
	131	=		18	
	—			20	
S	132	=		22	
	133	=		26	
	134	=	fo. 22.	5-6	
	135	=	fo. 23.	1	
	136	=		5	
	137-9			—	
	140	=	fo. 24.	1	[T]
	—			5	
T	141	=		8	
	142			—	
V	143	=	fo. 24^{v}.	9	[V]
	144	=		17	
	145			—	
	146	=	fo. 25.	1	
	147	=		4-5	
	148	=		16	
	149	=		19	
	150			—	
	—			24	

It will be seen that there are very few variations in the order. Each collection, however, has a certain number of proverbs omitted by the other: in particular one may note that the Rylands MS. has none of the 14 English proverbs given under the letter F in the Douce MS. With regard to the form of the proverbs, the most important variants of the Douce MS. are given in the footnotes of the present text.

So far we have been considering the English element of the two collections. It remains to compare the Latin element: this can best be done by taking at random five specimen pages of the Douce MS., and seeing how far their contents correspond with the proverbs of the Rylands MS. The following table shows the folios and lines of the Douce MS., and the corresponding folios and lines of the Rylands MS.

Douce.			*Rylands.*	
fo. 13.	1	=	fo. 5.	1 (English)
	2	=		2
	3	=		3
	4	=		4
	5	=		5
	6	=		6
	7	=		7
fo. 13.	8	=		8
	9	=		9
	10	=		10 (English)
	11	=		11
	12	=		12
	{13	=		13}
	{14	=		14}

Douce.		*Rylands.*	
fo. 13.	15 =		15
	16 =		16
	17 =		17
fo. 17v.	1-9		—(including 3 English proverbs)
	10 =	fo. 8.	1
	11 =		2
	12 =		3
	13 =		4
	14 =		5
	—		6-15
	15 =		16
	16 =		17
	—		18-19
	17 =		20
	18 =		21
	19 =		22
fo. 22.	1 =	fo. 11v.	16
	2 =		17
	3 =		18
	4 =		19
	5 =		20
	6 =		21
	7 =		22
	8 =		23
	9 =		24
	10 =		25
	11 =		26
	12 =		27
	13 =		28
	14 =		29
	15 =		30
	16 =		31
	17 =	fo. 12	1
	—		2
	18 =		3
fo. 27v.	1 =	fo. 17v.	17
	—		18 (equiv. of 17)
	2 =		19 (English)

Douce.		*Rylands.*	
fo. 27v.	3 =		20
	4 =		21 (English)
	5 =		22
	—		23 (equiv. of 22)
	6 =		24 (English)
	7 =		25
	8 =		26
	9 =		27
	10 =		28
	11 =		29
	—		30 (equiv. of 26-7)
	—	fo. 18.	1
	12 =		2 (English)
	13 =		3
	—		4-6 (equiv. of 3)
	14 =		10 (English)
	15 =		11
fo. 31.	1 =	fo. 24v.	9 (English)
	2 =		10
	—		11-16 (equiv. of 10)
	3 =		17 (English)
	4 =		18
	—		19 (equiv. of 18)
	5-6		— (Eng. and Latin)
	7 =	fo. 25.	1 (English)
	8 =		2
	—		3 (equiv. of 3)
	9 =		4 (English)
	10 =		5
	11 =		6
	12 =		7
	—		8-15 (4 couplets, equiv. of 6-7)
	13 =		16 (English)
	14 =		17

From these specimen pages it will be seen that, as in the English, so in the Latin, there is little variation in the order ; but there are omissions on either side. The omissions of Douce are the more numerous: in particular, on fo. 27^{v} and fo. 31 the extra Latin equivalents, lavishly supplied in Rylands, are cut down to one Latin to each English proverb.

The Douce and Rylands MSS. may then be regarded practically as two versions of the same collection: it remains to consider the relationship with other collections of proverbs, earlier and later. Förster, in editing the Douce proverbs, has collected a considerable number of parallels in his footnotes, to which the reader must be referred; all that is attempted in the footnotes of the present text is to supplement Förster's notes.

There are two collections in particular which furnish parallels with the Rylands-Douce proverbs. The MS. O II 45 of Trinity College, Cambridge, a mid-thirteenth century MS. from Cerne Abbey, contains a short collection of proverbs in English, with Latin or French equivalents, which, with some others, have been printed by Förster in *Englische Studien*, xxxi: and the *Common-place Book* of Richard Hill, compiled before 1536, also contains a large number of English and Latin proverbs similar to the Rylands-Douce proverbs (for reference to these see below).

Finally, at the risk of duplicating Förster's references, it seems convenient to give references to Professor Skeat's handy little collection of *Early English Proverbs;* it will be seen that a good many of the Rylands-Douce proverbs go back to the Proverbs of Hending (*c.* 1300). There is a very useful bibliographical survey of the whole subject in J. E. Wells, *A Manual of Writings in Middle English, 1050-1400* (Yale, 1916), p. 374 ff., chapter vii., *Proverbs and Precepts.*

(ii) The word-puzzles on fo. 27-28^{v}. are of several kinds:

(*a*) Riddles dealing simply with the meaning of the whole word to be guessed, as no. v, xvii, xli, xlii, l; cf. xxi.

(*b*) Charades, giving the meaning of the syllables and of the whole word to be guessed, as no. i, viii, xii, xxviii, xxix; cf. no. iv.

(*c*) Play upon the subtraction or alteration of particular letters in a word, a fairly popular form in this collection: as no. ii, iii, vi, vii, xvi, xix, xxx, xli; cf. no. xv.

(*d*) A jumble of syllables which have to be sorted into their proper order, as no. xliv, lv, lvi.

(*e*) Words spelt backwards, as no. xxvi, xxxi, lii.

(*f*) Verses of Latin words, which, literally translated, make up an English sentence or a string of proper names, as no. x, xxii (?), xxiii, xxiv, xxv, xlix, cf. xxxiii, xl ; no. liii is a combination of this and the form (*d*). An ingenious converse is to be found among the proverbs, on fo. 20^{v}, lines 22-4, 25-6, two examples, where a string of English words has to be translated to make a Latin verse, which is itself composed of reduplicated syllables.

(*g*) Nonsensical verses of Latin words, the first syllable of each word going to make up an English sentence, as no. ix, or a French sentence, as no. xi.

(*h*) Play upon the division or conjunction of syllables, an elementary and popular form, as no. xiii, xviii, xx, xxxii, xxxiv (?), xxxvi, xxxvii, xxxviii, xxxix, xliii, xlv, xlvi, xlvii, xlviii ; cf. xxxv (?).

(*i*) There remain a few obscure forms which cannot be classified, as no. xxvii, li, liv, lvii.

(*j*) On fo. 1^{v} are some verses on the different meanings of the roots *mel-* and *fest-*. A large number, but by no means all of the puzzles have the solutions provided.

The learned and instructive joke has a long history behind it : see Tupper, *Modern Language Notes*, xviii, 1-8, *The Comparative Study of Riddles :* and *Modern Philology*, ii, 561, *Riddles of the Bede Tradition*, where Mr. Tupper prints some "joco-seria" of pseudo-Bede, from an eleventh-century Canterbury MS. ; note the elaborate, fool-proof glosses to ensure the pupil's seeing the point, and compare the gloss to the *Davus* riddle, no. iii in the present collection. No. v of Mr. Tupper's "joco-seria" is on *Amor-Roma ;* cf. no. v of the present collection, but the verses are not the same.

ABBREVIATIONS.

D = MS. Douce 52.
Eng. St. = *Englische Studien* (1902), xxxi, 1-20: Max Förster, Frühmittelenglische sprichwörter :
  No. 1-19 from Trinity, Cambridge, MS. O II, 45.
  No. 20-3 from Bodleian MS. Digby 53.
  No. 24-5 from Bodleian MS. Rawlinson C. 641.
Heywood = *The proverbs, epigrams and miscellanies of John Heywood*, ed. John S. Farmer (London, 1906).
Hill = *Songs, Carols and other miscellaneous poems from Richard Hill's common-place book*, ed. R. Dyboski, *Early English Text Society* (1907), Extra Series 101 : English and Latin proverbs in the sections numbered 104, 105*a*, 105*d*, 113*c*.

Hn. = C. Horstman, *Yorkshire writers, R. Rolle of Hampole* (London, 1895), i, 420-435: a collection of Latin epigrams and riddles printed from MS. Arundel 507, fo. 69 (probably from Durham Cathedral Priory).
Kemble = J. M. Kemble, *Salomon and Saturn* (London, 1848).
OED. = *Oxford English Dictionary.*
Skeat = W. W. Skeat, *Early English Proverbs* (Oxford, 1916).

A reference like the following: "fo. 3^{v}. 5 (+ 6 *Latin*) = Hill 105*a*, 41" means that the English proverb on line 5, together with the Latin proverb (line 6) which follows in the Rylands MS., but is not printed here, corresponds to the English and Latin Proverb in Hill's collection.

The proverbs omitted in the Douce MS., and so peculiar to the Rylands version, are marked with asterisks.

fo. 1.

1. *Aurora lucis rutilat.*
2. *Magnificencia laus processio gloria pompa*
3. *Et ludi statua funeris obsequia.*
4. *Sermone blando angelus.*

fo. 1. 1, 4: the opening lines of two portions of an Easter hymn.

fo. 1^{v}.

1. *Urbs Hierosolima vocitabitur hec speciosa*
2. *Vel Hierosolime dantur pluraliter esse*
3. *Vel Hierosolimis indeclinabile dicis* } *Hierusalem.*
4. *Hierusalem Solima Syon datur urbs hec Helia*
5. *Est melo sive melus alias dictum quoque taxus* } *melota.*
6. *Est taxus dicta vestis que pilosa melota*
7. *Est melos estque melum cantus recte vocitatum*
8. *Promo canit dicit . . . erit extrahit et manifestat.*
9. *Festum sanctorum festum lignumque domorum*
10. *Iste dies festus alius vult esse profestus.*
11. *Festat*[1] *festinat notat infestare molestat.*
12. *Dicitur infestus contrarius atque molestus*
13. *Infensus nocuus inquieti . . . datur istis.*
14. *Metro peccavi sensum tamen insinua*[*vi*].
15. *Ihesu salvator seculi.*

fo. 1^{v}. 9: festum] the ridge beam of a roof: v. Ducange, s.v. *festum.*
15: the beginning of another Easter hymn.

fo. 2.

1. Whoso loueth þe toode he wenyth yt is þe mone.
2. *Bufonem cura fiet te iudice luna.*
3. *Bufo curetur iam bufo luna videtur.*
4. *Signis amat ranam, ranam putat esse Dianam.*
5. *Ranam siquis amat quod sit sibi cinthia clamat.*
6. Seldon dyeth his oxe þat wepeth for a kok.
7. *Bos moritur rare qui gallo plorat amare.*
8. *Bos obit huic rare qui gallum luget amare.*
9. Wyntur alle etus, þat sommer be getus.
10. *Brume tempestas vorat hec que procreat estas.*
11. Brynge þe oxe to þe halle / ande he wolle to þe stalle.
12. *Prospicit ad caulam bos cum ducatur ad aulam.*
13. *Indigeo bobus ad rura colenda duobus.*
14. *Iam scandit Walter meus est nunc unus et alter.*
15. *Dum mea bursa sonat hospes michi fercula donat.*
16. *In nobis nichil ex omni parte beatum.*
17. O good turne asket another'.
18. *Unum sponte datum reliquum poscit benefactum.*
19. Fowle salte is good inow for foule buttur'.
20. *Sal fedo gratum satis est butiro maculatum.*
21. *Est homo vix natus ex omni parte beatus.*
22. *Nullus miretur si vaccam bos imitetur.*
23. *Si quem barbatum faceret sua barba beatum,*
24. *In mundi circo non esset sanctior hirco.*
25. *Qui bibit et rebibit, nisi parcat, stultus adibit;*
26. *Cum bibis et rebibis componitur inde peribis.*
27. *Cum bibo bis vel ter, sum qualibet arte magister.*
28. *Dum sum ieiunus, sum de peioribus unus.*
29. *Cum sum ieiunus, tunc sermo sufficit unus:*
30. *Cum michi sit potus, tunc verbis effluo totus.*
31. *Pocula ter ferre, mos est et regula terre:*
32. *Tunc ter portetur, ne mos terre vacuetur.*
33. *Qui biberit mane poterit bene vivere sane.*

fo. 2. 6-7 = Hill 105*a*, 53.
9-10 = Hill 104, 14; 105*a*, 54.
13-14 These evidently go together, though they are not bracketed in the MS. The point is obscure: perhaps there is a gibe at the bovine qualities of Walter.

17 = OED s.v. *Turn* 23 (1546).
31-2 cf. *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*—
Post matutinas si tu vis bibere, bibas
Vinum preclarum, hoc docet regula Sarum.

fo. 2^{v}.

1. *Credit inesse capre vicium quod habet caper in se.*
6. *Commoda si queris, non principibus socieris.*
11. *Corrigiam corio longam damus ex alieno.*
13. The catt wolle fyssh' ete, but she wol not her' fote wete.
18. *Campus habet lumen et habet nemus auris acumen.*
20. As longe pleyeth þe whelpe, as þe olde hounde wyll'.
22. Many on wenys to do well', & don alle to wede.
26. The halte comys ever be hynde.
27. The halte and the blind, ever ben be hynde.

fo. 3.

1. Ther is noþyinge so hoote þat it nel kele.
2. *Nil calidum fiet adeo quin postea friget.*
3. *Ut vivant comedunt prudentes, histrio vivit*
4. *Ut comedat, vendit predia, vendit agros.*
8. *Dum novus est clipeus clavo suspenditur alto.*
11. *Ossis iactura non est canibus nocitura.*
13. *Plane stultizat siquis surdo citharizat.*
14. *Qui cultrum lambit largitur pauca clienti.*
23. *O tu pincerna qui cervisie dominaris*
24. *Gracia nulla tibi si des michi Quid gloriaris*
25. *Si des Quicunque demon confundat utrumque*
26. *Sint tibi regna poli si des michi Tangere noli.*
27. *Clac hac, clac illac, si non molit hac molit illac.*
28. *Si celum multe caderet morerentur alaude.*
29. He is wyse and well tawȝt, þat berys a horn' and blowes it nowȝt.
30. *Doctus portare novit cornu, neque flare.*
31. Blynde men demyn no colouris.

fo. 3^{v}.

3. **It** is **no** wy**semanys** lore / to t**ake** þ**e las and** leue þe more.
5. While the **welpe pleyes**, þe olde **dog grennys**.
7. For feyre **wyfes** / **mony** losyn **her'** lyfes.
10. It is no s**hame** to fall', but to lye longe.

15. *Culcitra plumalis res hospitibus generalis,*
16. *Sic olet ut malis sub te capa sit pluvialis.*
18. Ther onys is lefe, lett neuer be lothe.
21. Even songe and morn songe beth not both on'.
23. *Miles inarmatus parvas faciet probitates,*
24. *Clericus in studio sine libris utilitates.*
27. Not all keyes hongen atte oo wyues gyrdell.
30. Lytell & lytell þe catt eteth þe bakon.

fo. 2^{v}. 11 = Hill 105*a*, 44: cf. Skeat 86 (Hending and Trinity MS.): of un-boht hude men kerueth a brod thong.
13 = OED s.v. *Cat* 15 (example 1539): cf. Skeat 209 (Chaucer) and *Macbeth*, Act. I, sc. vii, ll. 44-5; (+ 14 *Latin*) = Eng. St. 11.
18 = Eng. St. no. 15.
22 = wede] cf. OED s.v. *wede*, to be mad.
fo. 3. 14 cf. Kemble, p. 57, no. 23 (Chaucer).
23 very obscure. The scriptural and liturgical tags are obvious: *Quid gloriaris* (Ps. li.); *Quicunque vult* (Athanasian creed); *Noli me tangere* (Joan, xx., 17).
28 cf. Hill 104, 7.
31 Demyn] discern: v. OED s.v. *deem* 5*b* (ex. 1530): cf. Skeat 157 (Chaucer).
fo. 3^{v}. 5 (+ *Latin*) = Hill 105*a*, 41.
18 Lefe, Lothe] cf. OED s.v. *Lief* 3.
21 cf. OED s.v. *Morn* 4*a* (ex. 1601).
27 = Hill 104, 50 (*mannis* girdill).
30 = Hill 105*a*, 16.

fo. 4.
1. Eche gote halteth on her' awghne sore.
5. When þe foote warmes / þan þe sho harmys.
10. *Ablue pecte canem, canis est et permanet idem.*
12. The mo houndes þe werse lape.
13. *Quo numerus maior lingentium lucio peior.*
16. Hoote wortes make harde crustes nesche.
17. *Mollificant olera durissima fervida crusta.*
18. The more cruste the lasse cromme.
20. Good day my rokke ys sponne.
21. *Lux bona prestetur tibi nanque colus mea netur.*
22. The nerre þe pynne þe better is þe puddynge.
25. *Ad libitum mugit canis & mulier lacrimatur*
26. *Pro planctu sapiens vir non moveatur.*

fo 4. 5 = Hill 104, 21.
10 = Kemble, p. 58, no. 35 (Trinity MS.).
16-7 = Hill 105*a*, 37. nesche] soft v. OED s.v. *nesh.*
20 rokke] distaff, or wool, etc., placed on distaff: v. OED s.v. *rock* sb.^{2}

fo. 4^{v}.

5. *Clericus annosus licet imber sit furiosus*
6. *Non poscit primam dum dragmam percipit unam.*
7. *Cervi cauda brevis male velat posteriora,*
8. *Servi lingua levis male detegit interiora.*
9. *Cordi non carte manda que noveris arte*
10. *Quod si carta cadat tecum sapiencia vadat.*
16. *Reddunt serotine cimiteria pinguia cene.*
19. Tout couet tout perde / Alle coueyteth alle lesith.
25. So kastis þe blynde man his staffe,
26. So smytis he that may not see.
30. Stonde awhyle and rynne a myle.

fo. 4^{v}. 19 = Hill 104, 39.
25 cf. Heywood 96.
30 rynne] run.

fo. 5.

1. He þat dothe as kanne, blame hym no man'.

D.

3. *Dulcia non meminit qui non gustavit amara.*
10. He þat ȝeueth me alitel wol my lyfe.
11. *Qui modicum michi dat michi vitam longius optat.*
20. Ȝeue me and I the, and so shull' we frendes be.

fo. 5. 10 = Skeat 80 (Hending). wol my lyfe] to me wyllyth longe lyffe, D.

fo. 5^{v}.

7. *Diligo plus* '*cape* this' *quam si sonat is bis* '*habebis*.'

[The rest of the page is mainly on this theme.]

fo. 6.

1. Ofte bryngeth o day, þat after alle þe ȝere ne may.
2. *Sepe dat una dies quod non dat circulus anni.*
9. Bettur ys herd sorow þan seen.
12. Euer is my tonge ther my tonge akes.
13. *Quo dolor est dentis versatur lingua dolentis.*

18. Fer fett & dere bouȝt ys good for ladyes.
23. After mete disches ben ryve.
24. *Crebrescunt vacui certe post prandia disci.*
28. Helpe god and haue alle.
28*. Ofte is owre dame aboute our' halfpenye.
29. *Sepe recordatur oboli michi que dominatur.*
30. At evyn preyse the feyre day.

fo. 6. 1 (+ 2, 3 *Latin*) = Eng. St. 25. after] *om.* D. Seven Latin examples of this proverb are given.
12: the second *tonge* is a mistake for *tooth*: þer the toth akys, D.
18 = OED s.v. *far-fet* 1 (ex. 1579): (+ 19 *Latin*) cf. Hill 105*a*, 45.
23: ryve] rife, plentiful.
28: perhaps cf. OED s.v. *halfpenny* 2: To have one's heart or hand on one's halfpenny; to have a particular object in view.

fo. 6^{v}.

4. Seldon comys o harm', and no mo.
10. Who so is fer from his disch is nyȝe his harm'.
12. Blessud be þat penye þat bryngeth two home.
16. *Damna fleo rerum, sed plus fleo damna dierum,*
17. *Quisque potest rebus succurrere, nemo diebus.*
20. *Obsunt doctrine meretrices atque taberne,*
21. *Discursus sperne ne sint tibi causa ruine.*
32. *Sunt tria damna domus, imber, mala femina, fumus.*

fo. 6^{v}. 16-7 partially quoted in letter no. 32 in this MS., above.
32 = Skeat 249.

E.

fo. 7.

4. The nerre þe chirche þe ferþer fro criste.
12. Spende & god woll' sende / spare & euer bare.
15. Schorte hors sone couryed.
20. *Mox ippus gratus brevis est leviter strigilatus.*

fo. 7. 4 = Skeat 100 (Handling Synne): (+ 11 Latin) Hill 105*a*, 12.
12 = Heywood 66.
15 = Hill 104, 8.

fo. 7^{v}.

1. Ever lenger þe wers / lokes þe blynde hors.
2. *Semper cecus equus peius videt et puto peius.*

5. Who so wolle abyde, he shall' wel be tyde.
8. While þe gresse growes, þe good hors sterues.
12. Who so gooth to þe chirche ageyn his wylle,
13. he comes home acursed.
16. When þe hors is stolyn, steyke þe stabul dore.
17. *Claudunt ribaldi stabulum post furta caballi.*
24. While þe hors kykis, warr' þat he þe not smyte.
28. It is better not to be, þen to not well' be.
30. Who so beldeth after eche mon, his hous shall stond acroke.
31. *Stabit in obliquum post multos edificatum.*

fo. 7^{v}. 1 lokes] *hopes* interlined as variant: D. has *lokys* only.
2 videt] *salit* interl.
8 (+ 9 *Latin*) = Hill 104, 2; 105*a*, 43.
16 = Hill 104, 23. steyke] shut: v. OED, s.v. *steek*.
28 than not to well be, D.
30 Whoso byldeth after euery man his howse, hit schall stonde a-croke, D.

[F.]

fo. 8.

6. *Femina raro bona, sed si bona digna corona.*
[and many more verses to the same effect].
27. *Me piget intrare feretrum dicam tibi quare.*
28. *Qui iacet in feretro non venit ille retro.*

fo. 8. 28 vix vz ova duo (*sic*) interlined.

[G.]

fo. 8^{v} .

2. A cok were a feyre foule ner' he ofte seen.
5. Alle it is for woo, þat þe hen synges in þe snowe.
7. The grace of god is bettur þan þre chepynges.
9. Tunge breketh bon', & hath hym selfe non'.
10. *Os frangit glossa tamen in se non habet ossa.*
11. As the kok crowes, so the chekon lernys.
13. Thou hast born' the well'.
22. *Gallus gallorum cantus renovat sociorum.*
23. Speke frensche & constrwe arte,
24. And þu shalt selde come to þy parte

M.

7. *Multa molendinum vaga preterit unda latenter.*
9. Mekull' wolde mor'.
12. O beggur is wo / þat anoþer in þe town goo.
14. Ther shall no man bete ne bynde amessanger.
17. Erly mayster, longe knaue.
19. *Longe servus erit dominatum qui cito querit.*
21. Ther ben women, þer ben wordis, }
22. Ther ben gese, ther ben toordes. }

fo. 12. 21-2 = Kemble, p. 62, no. 3.

fo. 12^{v}.

1.* Foole fayne ys of ȝefte / and wyse man it be wepys.
3.* Alle women wolden ben horis / if men hem be sowten.
4. *Omnes scortantur mulieres si rogitantur.*
8.* Woon' wolle won', or ellse woo dryve.
9. *Mos sibi vult morem, vel vult tolerare dolorem.*
10. Many hondes maken lite werke.
13. He cometh not to late, þat any good is ishape.
15. Seldon getys domb man londe.
19. He is clene as kattes had liked hym.
21. I kepe no more of þe katte but þe skynne.
23. For þe lasse me lysed þe more.
25. Who so nowȝt dos, nouȝt seruys.
27. *Nil operans vere debet mercede carere.*
30. Maner' makes man'.
32. Well' wote þe catt whoys berde she likes.

fo. 12^{v}. 10 = Hill 104, 24.
15 (+ 18 *Latin*) = Eng. St. no. 21.
19 cf. T. Gascoigne, *Loci e libro veritatum*, ed. Thorold Rogers (Oxford, 1881), p. 78, line 18: *salvus ero, et ita mundus, sicut cati me lamberent.*
21 but the skyn of the catt, D.
23 lysed] lefus, D.
32 (+ fo. 13. 1, 2 *Latin*) = Eng. St. no. 8: Kemble, p. 61, no. 39.

fo. 13.

3. It is harde to lyke hony of þe thorn'.
7. Dere is þat hony bout, þat on þe þorn is isouȝt.
8. *Mel male mercatur de spinis si capiatur.*

9. Mesure / ys tresur’.
13. Seldon comes lone / lawȝynge home.
19. *In Mauri festo magni venti memor esto :*
20. *CCC ter erant mille decies sex unus et ille :*
21. *Luce tua Maure vehemens fuit impetus aure.*
32. Sore y syke and sore y may //

fo. 13. 3 of] fro, D.
7 = Skeat 89 (Hending).
9 cf. Skeat 25 (Lydgate). This proverb is repeated on fo. 13^{v}. 26 : the same proverb, in the Douce MS. (No. 81), is also repeated.
13 = Skeat 84 (Hending). lone] loan.
19-21 CCC ter] redundant : for *C ter*. For the great storm of 15 Jan., 1361/2, see *Chronica Ioh. de Reading*, ed. Tait (Manchester, 1914), 150, 293, and the other chroniclers there cited. “This south-westerne wynt on a Seterday at euen” evidently made a profound moral impression : see *Piers Plowman*, ed. Skeat, i, 123, ii, 64 ; A Passus v. 14-20.

fo. 13^{v}.

1. Sore I sye & sore I may / for þre þynges me comys alday :
2. Þeton is þat I shal hen / þe toþer is wot not when,
3. Þe þrydde is my most care / I not wheder I shal fare.
15. *De morbo medicus gaudet, de morte sacerdos.*

fo. 13^{v}. 1-3 (+ 4-7 *Latin*) cf. Hill 113*c*.
Douce has :
Sore I syke and well I may / For thre thyngis þat comyn ay, / þe fyrst is : I schall hen ; / þe secunde : I not neuer when ; / þe thrydde is most care : / I not nere, whidur I schall fare. /. For “the three sorrowful tidings,” generally, see Wells, *A Manual of Writings in Middle English*, p. 392.

fo. 14.

13. *Musco privatur saxum quod ubique rotatur.*
30. *Cunque sedes mensa, primo de paupere pensa :*
31. *Pensa, dispensa, capies in fine remensa.*

fo. 14. 13 cf. Skeat 103.

[N.]

fo. 14^{v}.

3. *Mox suffocabis nebulonem quem proparabis.*
4. Kynde crepes there it may not goo.
12. *Rustica natura semper querit sua iura.*

20. *O Numen verum, fac me cognoscere clerum,*
21. *Ut te collandem, fugiamque per omnia fraudem.*
22. *Natum virga docet et moribus instruit, ergo.*
23. *Qui parcit tergo, non iuvat, imo nocet.*

fo. 14ᵛ. 4 = Heywood 33.

O.

fo. 15.

1. *Hu michi quod sterilem vitam duxi iuvenilem.* de ocio iuventutis.
4. The more haste, þe werse spede.
6. O skabbed shepe shendith alle a flok.
8. The pot gos to þe fyre ay tyl oon day.
14. Seldon seyen, son' for ȝeton'.
18.* Ferre from ye, ferre from hert.
21. That that is swete in þy monne,
22. ȝefe þi felowȝ þerof somme.
23. *Da partem socio quod sapit ore tuo.*

fo. 15. 4 = Heywood 7.
6 = Hill 104, 49: cf. Skeat 239. shendith] disgrace, infect, makyth a fowle flock, D.
8 cf. Heywood 82. The pot goth so longe to *water*, þat he comyth broke home, D.
14 = Hill 104, 35. sey, for-ȝete, D.
18 = Skeat 226 (Hending).
21 mumme, D.
22 þerof] *om.* D.

[P.]

fo. 15ᵛ.

8. *Ter quinquagenos cantat David ordine psalmos,*
9. *Versus bis mille sescentos sex canit ille.*
10. When bale is hiest / þen boot is neste.
11. *Cum plus pena gravat, medicina propinquior extat.*
13. Who so may not go byfore, kom' be hynde.
15.* Þere childe is kynge / & clerke bysshop,
16.* And chorle reue / all is greue.
19. Alle to late all' to late / when þe weyne is at þ^{e} ȝate.

fo. 15ᵛ. 10 = Skeat 83 (Hending).
15-6 cf. Eng. St., no. 22.
19 = OED s.v. *Wain* (xiii. cent. example).
When deth is come to ȝate, D.

fo. 16.

11.* Schame eldus /
12. *Tempore dilatus longo pudor inveteratus.*
13.* Wayne may no mor' þan þe fouther'.
14. *Iusto plus onere plaustrum non debet habere.*
15. Litel may helpe þer' moche byhoues.
19.* Lyȝt chepe, lythur forȝeldys.
20. *Res valet hoc modicum cui leve sit precium.*
28. Whan þe slow is full', þen ben his charr'ȝ don'.
29. *Cum piger impletur operis sibi finem habetur.*

fo. 16 13 fouther] fother, load.
19 = Skeat 88 (Hending).
28 his charr'ȝ] þe chare, D.

fo. 16ᵛ.

2. Ofte drynke makes þynne wytte.
11. Soo brewȝe, soo drynke.
15. Holde thy thombe in þy fyste, ⎫
16. And kepe þe well fro "had y wyste." ⎭
17. *Sit pollex pugno "si scivissem" fugiendo.*
18.* Fart on hyll' / and fart yn halle.
20. *Vivas monticola ceu vis in principis aula.*
21.* Fart on hyll', and fart ther' þu nylle.
22. *Pede super colles, pedes ubi pedere nolles.*
24. The smaller peses, þe mo to potte, ⎫
25. The feyrer woman, þe mor' gyglotte. ⎭
30. Lefe chylde lore by houes.
31. *Dilecto nato dogmata cara dato.*

fo. 16ᵛ. 2 maketh þy wyttes renne, D.
11 cf. Skeat 123.
25 gyglotte] wanton, silly woman: v. OED s.v. *giglet.*
30 cf. Skeat 245 (Hending).

fo. 17.

3. Thou shalt do as þe preste says, but not as þe preste dothe.
7. Conuenaunte ys auenaunt.
9. *In quovis facto lex est obnoxia pacto*
12. Bettur is þat ȝonge childe wepe þan olde man.
15. Of a ragged colte comys a good hors.
19. The bettur þu be / þe better þy be se.

21. *Cum status est melior tibi sit prudencia maior.*
23. Bettur is a childe vnborn' þan vn lernyd.
26.* Sely chylde, sone lerned.
29. Pouerte partes felshipe.

fo. 17. 3 cf. Matt. xxiii, 3.
7 avenaunt] agreeable, convenient: cf. OED s.v. *avenant.*
12 = Heywood 34.
15 = Hill 104, 10.
19 = Skeat 81 (Hending). The better be-se, D. cf. Hill, 105*a*, 13.
23 cf. Hill 104, 37: Skeat 42 (Alfred).
26 = Eng. St. no. 18: Skeat 245 (Hending).
29 = Hill 104, 44. brekys companye, D.

fo. 17^{v}.

5. Strenght moweth the medowe.
7. A fool schulde neuer haue babul in honde.
10. For defaute of a good man, / me settes a shrew on benche.
16. Soo doos that soo maye.
19. For a poynt pykard lost his yȝe.
20. *Uno pro puncto caruit picardus ocello.*
21. Cheeldes pygge and faderis flyche.
24. When me profereth the pygge, opyn the poke,
25. For whan it is anolde swyn', he wol not com' þer yn'.
26. *Cum tibi porcellum prebet quis, pande sacellum :*
27. *Cum fuerit porcus, non erit ipse tuus.*
30. *Cum porcum tibi do, saccum reserare momento :*

fo. 18.

1. *Nam non intrabit porcellus, cum veterabit.*
2. Litell' wot þe full' what þe hungry eyles.
7. Ossynge comes to bossinge.
8. *Vulgus opinatur quod postmodum verificatur.*
9. *Que predixerunt plures operata fuerunt.*
10. Furst the chylde crepes & after he goes.
12.* Eche preste preyseth his awgh relikes.
14. Pore manys purs is faste knytte.
20.* Drynke hoot and swolow hoot.
24. Elde synnes maken newe shames.

fo. 17^{v}. 5 mowes downe, D.
7 babul] jester's bauble. *a* babull, D.

16 soo] so, D.
19 the Picarde, D.
21 Childe is pigge, and fader is the fliche, D.
24 = Hill 104, 1 (omitting line 25).
25 he wol not com' þer yn'] thow tyte hym nowȝht, D.
26-7 corresponds to the Douce English reading.
30-fo. 18. 1 Corresponds to the Rylands English reading (above).
fo. 18. 7 = OED s.v. *osse* v 3 (ex. Cheshire 1674-91). osse] to presage, to venture. Note the Latin versions, which take the first meaning of *osse*.
10 = Heywood 37.
14 purs] mony, D—a less appropriate version.
24 cf. Skeat 56 (Havelock the Dane).

fo. 18.

26. When þat I wowe, goold is in my glove inowe.
27. When I haue þat I wyll', goddis grame on þy bylle.
29. *Velle meo facto mala gracia sit tibi rostro.*

fo. 18. 26 inowe] *om.*, D.
27 grame] wrath. bill] nose.

fo. 18^{v}.

19. Be the fader what may be, well' is þe childe þ^{t} may thee
20. *Qualiscumque pater vigeat puer est bene prosper.*
21.* Faste conuenaunt makes hesye endynge.
23. *Pactum firmatum mollem vult reddere finem.*
26. Of a good begynnynge comes a good endynge.
28.* Thawȝ peper be blak, it hath a good smak.
31.* With a betull' be he smeton
32.* Þat alle þe world may it weton

fo. 19.

1.* Þat ȝeues his childe alle his þynge
2.* And gooth hym selfe abegynge.
5. The moo contre men þe werse.
7.* Smyte we no man with ouȝt acause.
11. *Vivunt piscautes melius quam sepe precautes.*
15. *Pavo pedem furis, clamorem demonis, atque*
16. *Angelicas pennas, et caput anguis habet.*
17. *O polimita pola per memus omne vola*
18. *Aura que sit tuta, patrem matremque saluta.*
19. *Pugnum scribentis collaudet lingua legentis.*
22. *Papam nemo terat morsu qui celica sperat.*

25.* A sowre appul whan it is hoote
26.* Shytes out alle þat he woote.
27. *Omne quod est in se calidum pomum cacat acre.*

fo. 18^{v}. 19 Be the fadur what he be / Welle is the chylde to the, D.
21 hesye] easy.
26 = Skeat 67 (Hending).
28 = Hill 104, 9; 105*a*, 17.
31 betull] a mallet. OED s.v. *beetle* sb. 1. These four lines, fo. 18^{v}. 31-19.2, occur as the climax of a Latin story, *de divite qui dedit omnia filio suo*, from John of Bromyard's *Summa praedicantium*: printed by T. Wright in *Latin Stories* (Percy Society, vol. viii. 1842), pp. 28-9, with an interesting note, pp. 221-2: he quotes French and Latin versions.
fo. 19. 17 Polimita] of many colours: cf. Gen. xxxvii, 3.
Pola] ? polla, pulla, *a fowl*: possibly another reference to the peacock.
memus] *for* nemus?
22 cf. the French proverb, *Qui mange du Pape, en meurt.*

fo. 19^{v}.

23. *Post peccata pudor prodest, post balnea sudor.*
29. *Pauperis ad funus vix vadit clericus unus.*

[Q.]

fo. 20.

1. *Qualis es in panno, talem te colloco scanno.*

fo. 20^{v}.

R.

1. When þ^{u} begynnys a thynge, þenke on þe endynge.
6. Hyde & haue, publiche & nout haue.
20.* Euer þe worst spoke of þe cart krakes.
21. *Vult rota clangorem radium dare deteriorem.*
22.* I dew þyn thynges trou þ^{u} mynstrellys
23.* Stryue han brouth forth.
24. *Roro rara rere mimi murmur peperere.*
25.* I gif a gifte of a peny mek to þe þ^{u} mon of to ȝer’ deserue.
26. *Do do-num num-mi mi-ti ti-bi bi-me me-rere.*
30. *O miserum risum quo perdit homo paradisum.*

fo. 20^{v}. 1 = Hill 105*a*, 30.
20 krakes] creaks—*clangorem dare.*

22-4; 25-6 a kind of riddle, or trick verse in Latin, resulting from the literal translation of the English nonsense verse. Note, in the first example, the Latin words form themselves naturally, in the second they have to be divided.

fo. 21.

3. *Rem de qua loqueris digito monstrare cavebis.*

S.

fo. 21^{v}.

1. Hope ne were, hert brosten were.
6. Who heweth houer hye, þer fallus chippus in his yȝe.
8. So longe þ^{u} may, on þe stone spete,
9. þat at þe laste, it woll' be wete.
13.* The stylle sowȝe etus alle þe draffe.
16. Thorow a lytell' hole a man may se his frende.
18. He that were wytty were seely.
19. *Plurima qui sciret, hic felix semper abiret.*
20.* Me may þe olde ouer rynne / but not ouer rede.
22. Was he neuer good knape / þ^{t} had is dame et þe ȝate.
23. *Nemo bonus servus, foribus qui matre potitur.*
26. Ther is not inowȝ where no þynge leues.

fo. 21^{v}. 1 = Hill 104, 40.
6 (+ 7 *Latin*) = Hill, 105*a*, 38: Skeat 132 (Gower): cf. Hill 104, 48. houer] to, D.
9 at þe laste] *om.*, D.
13 (+ 14, 15 *Latin*) = Eng. St. no. 4, 23, 24: Heywood 27.
16 (+ 17 *Latin*) = Hill 105*a*, 50.
20 = Skeat 195 (*at-rede*).
22 = knape] knappe, D. = *knave.*

fo. 22.

5. Wyst euer any man, how brechell wer his shynne bon'
6. Nolde he neuer' lepyn there þat he myȝte gon'.

fo. 22. 5 euery man, D. bretell, D.

fo. 22^{v}.

16. *Omnes qui vendunt vel emunt res spirituales*
17. *Hos appellamus de Simone simoniales.*

fo. 23.

1. Pryde goth before and shame comys after.
5. Who so kan not be a sugget, he kan not be a souereyn'.

8. *Te speculis multis simul et simul ut specularis,*
9. *Sic Christus melius multis speculatur in aris.*
10. *Una sacerdotis manus accipit, altera condit,*
11. *Tercia si fuerit, tunc dare promptus erit.*
27. *Cum servo nequam palpus datur, accipit ulnam.*

fo. 23. 1 (+ 2 *Latin*) = Hill 104, 17; 105*a*, 24.

fo. 23$^{\mathrm{v}}$.

2. *Sepe seges melior in nigris pullulat agris.*
8. *Salgia serpillum sic ment piper petrocillum :*
9. *Ex his fit salsa, non est sentencia falsa.*
12. *De cado, dic cecidi, casum : de cedo, cecidi,*
13. *Cesum : de cedo, cessi, cessumque supino.*

fo. 23$^{\mathrm{v}}$. 2 seges] leges, MS.
8-9 a recipe : sage, thyme, mint, pepper, parsley.
12-13 written in a different hand.

[T.]

fo. 24.

1. Bettur ys late thanne never'.
5.* Loth' stok longe stondes.
6. *Trunculus hostilis dat longo tempore vilis.*
8. Alle thynge hath tyme.
27. *Ter tria sunt septem septem sex sex quoque tres sunt,*
28. *Si numeres recte duo tres sunt milia quinque.*

fo. 24. 1 = Hill 104, 43 : cf. Skeat 27, 287.
27-8 = Hn. ll. 568-9.

V.

fo. 24$^{\mathrm{v}}$.

8. *Anxietas veterem trottare facit mulierem.*
9. Sonner pleyeth the fulle wombe than feyre clothis.
12. *Venter ovat plenus cicius quam veste serenus.*
17. Who so wol not whan he maye he shal not whan he wolde.

fo. 24$^{\mathrm{v}}$. 8 cf. Eng. St. no. 13; Hill 104, 5 : Need makith the old wiff to trotte.
17 cf. Skeat 26.

fo. 25.

1. Whan the fox fyllus then fleus he the goos.
3. *Aucas excoriat vulpes cum se saciavit.*

4. Two frereus and a fox maken þre shrewes
5. And euer bereth' þe fox the box of alle goode thewes
6. *Una, duo fratres, vulpes, pravos faciunt tres,*
7. *Pixidis ast morum gestrix erit ipsa bonorum.*
10. *Fratrum termo | vulpe quaterno | trux sociata,*
11. *Est sine rixis | etica pixis | ab allope lata.*
16. Who so euer seith' the sothe he shal be shent.
19. Alle the sothe is not to seyn.
24.* The berewarde and the bere thenken not alle on'.

fo. 25^{v}.

11. *Non vox sed votum, non musica cordula sed cor,*
12. *Non clamans sed amans, cantat in aure Dei.*
15. *Qui bona vina bibit, paradisum tutus adibit,*
16. *Et quia credo mori, potabo de meliori.*
22. *Non cum festuca silvestris leditur ursa.*
28. *Tot fora terga boum quot habent pelles vitulorum.*

fo. 26.

9. *Certe pauper eris mulieri si socieris*
10. *Si sponsam queris sepe molestus eris*
11. *Raro ridebis sed vix sine lite iacebis*
12. *Nunquam gaudebis sed in omni tempore flebis.*
17. *Infantem virga castigans sit benedicta.*

[X.]

fo. 26^{v}.

2. *Tunc bene prandetur, si presens Christus habetur.*
[A verse beginning *Qui sunt ypocrite*, copied several times in another hand.]

fo. 25. 4 a fox] thre fox (*sic*), D.
10 quaterno] quatermo, MS.
16 of-shende, D.
19 to be sayde, D.
fo. 25^{v}. 15-6 cf. the well-known verse, *Meum est propositum in taberna mori*, of the Archipoeta.

[Riddles.]

fo. 27.

(i) Cuidam prebebat fuscum natura colorem Cornix
Illi subtrahe cor albedine vincit olorem
Cornix est alba si cor tollatur ab illa.

(i) Cornix est alba, etc.] = MS. Harl. 3362, fo. 33, Hn. l. 299.

(ii) Vita michi ridet, iuvenale gaudeo flore : } Ephebus
E rapta caream ; nimis exundabo calore.

Davus
(iii) Sum quidam nebulo, sum res non apta puellis, }
favus
D mutetur in F, et erit tibi gracia mellis.

Davus fuit nebulo et luxuriosus in iuventute, sed in senectute erat nebulo et non luxuriosus, ideo non erat tunc apta puellis : mutata D. in F. dicetur favus.

A M O
(iv) Prima triangula sit, tripodem postpone, rotundum, } Amo te
te
Et converte : scies quid sit michi morbus et unde

(v) Corda puellarum lascivis urgeo morbis }
Verte retro nomen michi totus serviet orbis.

(vi) Quinque placent ori, sed quatuor aere pendent, } dapes.
Tres pars sunt hominis, et duo dulce sonant.

(vii) Quinque placent sanctis, et quattuor altile figunt, } Verum.
Tres pars anni sunt, sed duo triste sonant.

(viii) Dimidium Pauli, totum per, et ultima quantas } paupertas.
Constringit plures in vita vivere fures

(ix) Al -las pry -de
Altaris lassus privatur decipiendo } Allas pride ys manys bane.
ys man -[nes] ba -ne
Istuc mandragora nescit balare negando

(x) a mak -rel bar Wyllyam fro mere-ȝate.
Fac alabrum porta bene patruus ab equa porta.

(ii) rapta] corrected from *rapto.*
(iv) michi] follows *tibi* expunged: cf. MS. Harl. 3362, fo. 33, Hn. ll. 552-3.
(v) i.e. Amor, Roma.
(vi) i.e. Dapes, apes, pes, es (= aes?), or da (?). = Hn. ll. 297-8. Another couplet to the same effect follows.
(vii) i.e. Verum, veru, ver, ve.
(ix) [nes] omitted in MS.
(x) mere-ȝate] Margate.

fo. 27ᵛ.

dis -pen -ser ser -ra
(xi) Discopa pentametrum servos servat radiose
pen -du on corde tre -ne
Pensa duplicium & corde tremens nebulose.

(xii) Est vox leticie dissillaba diccio tota
Est vox tristicie si pars sit prima remota — Salve
Si tollas finem dapibus dat prima saporem

(xiii) Est parvus sal mus dum vir-tus contulit almus.

(xiv) Evolat et scribit pennatus lactet odorat.

(xv) Sum tibi ne discam quia me septem scio partes.
Sensus est iste : sum par tibi ne artes me scilicet
ut discam pro discere quia scio septem partes.

sc. ave i.e. sine anteriori parte i.e. posteriori parte.
(xvi) Mitto tibi navem sine prora puppe carentem.

(xvii) Est avis implumis, cui pes, cui tibia, cui crus
Non sunt : ventre tumet, ceca sedetque volat — Navis.

aperit
(xviii) Ad mammas puer os pandit sic prata super bos.

(xix) Sum nimis ampla domus eternum sentio fumum — Baratrum.
Si michi B rapias de campis extraho dumum — Aratrum.

(xx) Est panem pannos sed furfur sus tinea mus.

(xxi) Versus amor mundi caput est sum bestia terre.

(xxii) Regnat dis durus fraus barba lacrima murus.

chel -mase -ford hopys to ouercom berkynge
(xxiii) Algor clava vadum sperat superare latratum.
Wal -den donne ouercomes maw
Et murum lustrum dosium sibi subdit omasum.

(xi) on corde] a corruption or anglicism : following the rules of the game, the reading should be *et cor :* possibly a reference to the disembowelling of traitors.

(xii) Hn. ll. 565-7.

(xvi) i.e. [n]ave[m].

(xx) i.e. The swine eats bread, the moth cloth, the mouse bran.

(xxii) Probably to be translated into English : *dis durus* would make *Richard* (cf. xxiv), *fraus barba* might possibly be *Rob-beard, Robert.*

(xxiii) chel] chill. Chelmsford. dosium] probably for *dolium*, and so *donne*] for *tonne, town ?* subdit] corrected from *subdidit.* The meaning of the whole is obscure : it reads like a prophecy of league football !

Richard iegfray henry
(xxiv) Dives durus, ego faciam, gallina siligo,
Tho mas Will yam Rayn olde
Articulus clava, bene sum, et pluvia senex.

fo. 28.

tho mas sythus wel hundrut thi grete fe -lowe
(xxv) Ad missam falces bene C tis fle feodum lex.

Margareta amor mei cordis salue & amo
(xxvi) Ateragram Roma iem sidroc eulas & oma.

(xxvii) Dum canis obdormit tanto securius ormit.

(xxviii) Dulcis apis, villa, languescere me facit illa. anglice beton.

(xxix) Sillaba trina datur, sine prima nullus amatur,
fraude secunda caret, iniusto tercia claret.

(xxx) Siquis habet taurum tollat caput inde fit aurum.

(xxxi) Milto tibi metulas si tu scis vertere tulas. id est, salus frenchit is.

(xxxii) Per totam villam fu it ardens omnia tecta.

bonam terram
(xxxiii) Preteriens eu-ge vi treuge tramite leuge }
defectus non terra
Trica gravet neu-ge dic semper ave simul euge. }

duas
(xxxiv) Fer ter ninas va nas pro libro sine dya umas.

Willelmus
(xxxv) Quem pupugit spina sanum vult W. me dici na.

(xxxvi) Vir tus portabat vir tutis gressibus ibat.

(xxxvii) Mens studeo fort is sed ut res perdita tort is.

(xxxviii) Ad rogam vade ter habebis et a ve roga bis.

(xxxix) Imo lata fuit mulieris libra vigore.

quedam aqua
(xl) Limpida silva focum trigintaque dat tibi pisces.

(xxvi) There follows a repetition of no. (xiv), *Evolat*, etc.
(xxx) Cf. MS. Harl. fo. 3362, 33.
(xxxi) Salutem, salut.
(xxxii) fu] = *feu*.
(xxxv) medici nina MS., which will not scan. The joke seems to be *vult-W* = *vultu* (?).
(xl) The *quedam aqua* is evidently the River Trent.

(xli) Iuncta fui Cereri, fedus fregere flagella
Nunc quibus apponor comedant me bos et asella } Palea.
Si caput abstuleris do gaudia doque doloris
Si caput et pectus comedo qui me comedebant

(xlii) Do quod non habeo, qui fert mea dona laborat } Cos.
Dans et suscipiens est et utrumque minus

as
(xliii) Prudenter dolo res lucrate sunt que dolo res.
Pusio do lora tibi larga, nec inde dolora.

(xliv) Signa tur pal ma pat here bene clericus edunt.

fo^{v}. 28.

Clericus palpat signa here dum turma edunt.

(xlv) Do minas ob dominas qui domi nas cum dominabus.

(xlvi) Dum per aquas vi no requiei post ea me do.

(xlvii) Pro re mis vi tis datur o mors dira ferentis }
Non poteris·vi tis me manibus addere ditis }

(xlviii) Trans mare sicut ego ne mergas no mi na fili.

felow hayle
(xlix) Lex feodum grando, capias hec que tibi mando.

(l) Floribus et linguis quoddam mirabile vas est }
Quod si sit plenum vacuum vel ponderat equum }

(li) Anser ovem variat cui potum vacca ministrat.

alis magot mariot malkyn anneys emelot.
(lii) Sila rogam toyram niklam sienna toleme.

iniere simul nundinas nobilis petri.
Ereni lumis sanidnun sibilon irtep.

(liii) Tomas is mad bischop at rome be reson.
Est rosul pre me totus mas fac racione.

(xlii) Cf. MS. Harl. 3362, fo. 33, Hn. ll. 563-4.

(l) MS. Harl. 3362, fo. 33 gives this, also Hn. ll. 303-4, which adds the solution : *Tabelle*, apparently 'wax tablets '.

(li) = Hill 105*d*, 11 (*ancer*). Apparently an epigram on the pen : 'The goose [-quill] variegates the sheep [-skin],' and the cow in some obscure way is connected with the ink : a more elaborate form is in Hn. ll. 305-6 :

Penna.
Bos portat spinam de qua facit anca ruinam ;
Quod rapit anca bovi, dat vitulo vel ovi.

(liii) i.e. Tomas factus est presul Rome racione.

(liv) Fons glacies paries procatur scindere vaccas.

(lv) Arfa scifum genti ro condidit hunc brica berti.

(lvi) Me tremfra goliob, et ob hoc nunc do tibi demfi.

(lvii) Ut valeo tota marcas do subtrahe iota.

(lviii) Res est innormis quia sic est hircus in ormis
Res est innormis bene non sedet hircus en ormis
Res tam deformis bene debuit esse de formis

(lix) Tu que lavas uvas verbas tu varere maluas.

(lx) Mantica mentitur curia vester equus, id est equus meus currit male.

(lxi) Incustoditi mandatis stipite fixi.

[fo. 29-30 *blank.*]

[fo. 30v : *in hands apparently different from that of the text* :]

Iheus xp̃tus.

Astrolagus moriens Ihesum super omnia querens,
Supplico submissus ut missa michi fiet.

Si *Io* ponatur et *han* simul acipiatur qui
Scricet sit nominatur vereatur.

(lv) i.e. Fabrica Roberti condidit hunc scifum argenti.

(lvi) i.e. Me fratrem obligo, et ob hoc nunc do tibi fidem.
Cf. Trem. fra. me. goliob. et ob hoc tibi prebio dem fi: *Reliquiæ Antiquiæ*, i., 290.

SAFEGUARDING MANUSCRIPT SOURCES OF NATIONAL AND LOCAL HISTORY.

BY THE EDITOR.

IN our issue for January, 1927 (pp. 16-19), we took occasion to refer to the protests which had been appearing in the press, against the sale, exportation, and ruthless destruction of historical and other documents which was constantly taking place.

Such protests cannot be too frequently or too strongly emphasised if this disastrous traffic in, and destruction of important sources of our national and local history, which still continues, is to be arrested ; and we note with satisfaction that public opinion is at last being mobilised to defend from destruction all kinds of historical documents, including the deeds and other papers hitherto preserved in lawyers' offices, or in private archives.[1]

One very hopeful sign is the interest which is being aroused among the members of the Surveyors' Institution. The President of that body (Mr. C. D. Fisher) in his annual address reminded members that in these days of transition, when so many estates are changing hands and being broken up, it often happens that the records of the estates are carelessly dispersed or destroyed, and that it was within their power to render an incalculable service to historical research in the future by persuading the owners of such properties to hand over to the nearest public library, or to the local historical, archæological or antiquarian society, the deeds, conveyances, and other papers connected therewith, which could be of no further value as evidences of title, but would furnish the historian with valuable information as to the enclosure of lands and open fields, the growth and breaking up of estates, and the fluctuation in the size of farms and rents. Such documents would be of the greatest historical value to posterity, and by placing them in safe custody the present owners would feel amply recompensed if they could be made to realise that the country would benefit by their action.

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[1] "History," April, 1929, pp. 48-51, and July, 1929, pp. 121-124.

The President of the Worcester Archæological Society (Mr. E. A. Barnard) also, has been untiring in his efforts to check yet another disquieting and deplorable traffic in old documents, which are bought, for no other purpose than, that they should be cut up and used in the making of toy drums, tambourines, covers for blotters, lamp shades, and such like fancy articles. The firm making use of these vellum deeds and similar documents, when approached, disclaimed any intention of vandalism. They asserted that the old documents which come into their hands in large quantities are of a common-place character, and that any which appear to be of special interest or importance are not destroyed.

This assurance is not a sufficient safeguard against the possible destruction of documents of great importance, and Mr. Barnard has continued his crusade with the assistance of the B.B.C., by broadcasting talks upon the subject, with encouraging results. One result was that a visit was arranged to a large paper mill, where great quantities of documents and papers of all kinds are pulped, and where, it is to be hoped, Mr. Barnard's warnings and advice will have the desired effect. There are in London from thirty to forty such paper works, where this pulping process is carried on, in the course of which hundreds of tons of papers of all sorts are dealt with to furnish the stock from which much of our modern paper is made. It is not too much to hope that these firms may be induced to arrange for a thorough examination of this material by some one capable of assessing the importance or worthlessness of any documents or papers which it may include, before it is placed beyond the possibility of salvation.

In private hands there are an incalculable number of old deeds, leases, settlements, letters, wills, and other papers, the accumulations perhaps of centuries, which may not have any great value from the point of view of national history, but which are of the utmost importance as local records. Such collections, which may have been temporarily stored, for want of better accommodation, in unsuitable buildings, such as stables and outhouses, where they are likely to suffer irreparable damage from damp and neglect, are frequently turned out by thoughtless executors of estates as worthless lumber, to find its way to the paper-mills.

Such documents form part of the essential source material for the history of the families and counties to which they relate, and are invaluable to students of our local history and customs, as well as to the ever-increasing number of scholars engaged in this description of historical investigation.

Unfortunately, there is no expert official advice available for this class of material. It is true, that the Historical Manuscript Commission is willing to advise owners as to the care and preservation of collections of documents of national importance such as they are mainly concerned with, but for other classes of manuscript matter no such official guidance is available. If, however, the owners of such collections or the executors and solicitors of estates, which are in process of being broken up, would take the trouble to apply to the Secretary of the local Archæological Society, he would gladly put them in touch with some member with the requisite knowledge and experience, who would willingly advise them as to what is worthy of preservation.

In this connection it is welcome news that steps have been taken to secure the co-operation of the archæological societies affiliated to the Congress of Archælogical Societies, by asking them to report upon their experience in this matter of destruction. The results of these reports were to be submitted to the Congress at its meeting in November, and there is little doubt that some plan of action will have been decided upon before the present issue of the BULLETIN is in circulation.

One very important step has been taken in the direction of safeguarding one particular class of such documents by means of a short Act of Parliament, entitled "The Law and Property Amendment Act, 1924," in which the Master of the Rolls is empowered to direct that all manorial court rolls, charters, and similar documents at present scattered about the country should be reported to him. He is also empowered to establish depôts in different parts of the country in which these documents should be deposited for safe custody.

Unfortunately, the powers vested in the Master of the Rolls does not authorise him to *order* manorial documents to be placed in the approved local depository unless, in his opinion, they are not being properly cared for. He may, however, institute such inquiries as he shall think fit for the purpose of ascertaining whether any such documents are being properly preserved. Yet, it remains for the lord of the manor to decide whether or not he will transfer his records to a public institution, where they would be readily accessible to him or to any student who might wish to consult them.

At the request of the Master of the Rolls, this library has undertaken to act as the approved depository, under the provisions of the Act, for the counties of Cheshire and Lancashire. And in order that the objects for which the Act was framed may be achieved, we intend to prepare a register of the manors within the two counties, with a view of inviting the lords of such manors to deposit with us all the manorial documents which are no longer in current use.

In the early part of last year the Master of the Rolls was able to report steady progress with the register which he had established, and which at present includes particulars of over 9000 manors either existing or obsolete, but it is far from complete, since it is estimated that there are in England alone from 18,000 to 20,000 manors, of which 12,000 are extant.

Another very disquieting aspect of this traffic in manuscripts is the large collections of valuable sources of our national history which are constantly being transported to America. It may be that many of these papers cannot be regarded as State property, but they are of such national importance that under no circumstances should they be allowed to leave these shores.

Italy set us an example we might well follow, when her Government ordered all objects of first-rate importance to be scheduled, and provided that the State should have a right of pre-emption before any idea of exportation could be tolerated. Some of the treasures so scheduled were under no circumstances to be exported. It was under this wise provision that the most important of the Medici archives were saved for the country a few years ago.

As Sir Charles Oman has pointed out the class of our national treasures which call for some such stringent action are manuscript papers which are obviously state property wrongly appropriated by long dead delinquents. It seems to have been the practice throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for state officials to remove important state papers to their own homes, regarding them as the perquisites of office, in utter disregard of their successors and subsequent administrators in office, to say nothing of the claims of the historian. Many of these state papers, mixed with genuine family papers, have passed into the possession of American libraries in quite recent years, such as, for example, the Battle Abbey Charters, a collection of documents from Stowe House dating from 1170, muniments of the Earl of Huntington and the Earl of Ellesmere, all relating to English history, against the exportation of which some state embargo should have been imposed.

A number of very important royal wardrobe books and other similar documents were saved from the disaster of exportation a few years ago, at considerable expense, by the Governors of the John Rylands Library, and are now in their safe keeping.

The Institute of Historical Research is rendering a very useful service in undertaking to record the migration of manuscripts which pass through the sale-room, by means of a register of such sales and of the subsequent migration of the items.

There is still another class of historical records which calls for prompt action if they are to be saved from destruction through careless and thoughtless neglect. We refer to the Parish Registers of the country, many of which are in a shocking state of disrepair from want of reasonable care, whilst others that have come under our notice have completely perished, and have been allowed to become little better than bundles of rags, and even of pulp.

The "Parochial Registers and Records Measure" (19-20 George V., no. 1) which was passed by the Church Assembly and presented to Parliament for the royal assent, is now in force, and is in time to save many of the registers from the process of disintegration by which they are threatened from want of care, if the Bishops will exercise without delay the powers which are vested in them.

Under this measure the Bishops are empowered to establish diocesan record offices in which any register not actually in use, and any deeds or documents of value as historical records may be deposited by the minister concerned.

We have not yet heard of the establishment of such a record office for the diocese of Manchester, or that the registers and other parochial documents have been inspected with a view of determining whether they are being properly cared for. The whole matter is permissive as far as the Bishop is concerned, but his orders, once given, may be enforced in the county court.

We would venture to express the hope that the Bishops will without delay direct that a systematic inspection, by competent officials, be carried out in the various dioceses, with a view of determining whether the registers and other parish or church muniments are properly cared for, and are readily accessible for purposes of consultation, under the necessary safeguards. In their report the officials should be instructed to indicate what is the condition of the various registers and other documents, and in cases where there are evidences of decay from mildew or other causes, or of disrepair from careless handling, to call attention to the need for immediate action, in order that the necessary repairs or treatment may be applied so as to arrest decay, and prevent further disintegration. The parish chest, or safe, in which the registers and papers are often stored are not infrequently the cause of the trouble, for damp and vitiated air are amongst the worst enemies of such manuscripts, since like human beings, they require fresh air and light.

In cases where the parish does not possess appropriate and safe accommodation for their records, especially for those which are no longer in current use, they should be ordered into the safe custody of the episcopal registry or record office, or of some public depository, where at all reasonable times they will be accessible for consultation.

That brings us to the purpose we had in view in calling attention to these matters, which is to renew the offer we have made from time to time in these pages, of any help within our power in the form of advice, and of our willingness to take charge of any such collections as may relate to the North of England, more especially to the counties of Lancashire and Cheshire.

Many collections have already been entrusted to our care, in response to our previous offers, and now find an appropriate resting-place in the charter room or the manuscript rooms of this library, where they are readily accessible to any student or reader who may wish to consult them. We undertake not only to be responsible for the safe custody of any documents which may be entrusted to our care, but to arrange them and describe them, and from time to time to print and publish brief descriptive hand-lists of them.

THE GENUINENESS OF ‘AT-ṬABARI’S ARABIC “APOLOGY,” AND OF THE SYRIAC DOCUMENT ON THE SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY IN CENTRAL ASIA IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

By THE EDITOR.

IN a recent issue of *Byzantion* is published a review of an article which appeared in the pages of this BULLETIN as long ago as 1925, from the pen of Dr. Mingana, on “The Early Spread of Christianity in Central Asia and the Far East,” which is based upon a hitherto unpublished Syriac document in the John Rylands Library, an English translation of which, with the Syriac text of that portion of the manuscript which deals with the conversion of some ancient Turks to Christianity, is printed as an appendix.

The reviewer, who is Father P. Peeters, S.J., questions the genuineness of the document and appears to suggest that it is a fabrication on the part of the writer of the article.

This unwarranted piece of criticism cannot be allowed to pass unchallenged, for in the same article Father Peeters renews the attack which he made upon Dr. Mingana in the *Analecta Bollandiana* (41 (1924), pp. 200-202) in the course of a review of ‘At-Ṭabari’s “The Book of Religion and Empire: a semi-official defence and exposition of Islam written by order at the court and with the assistance of the Caliph Mutawakkil (A.D. 874-861),” which Dr. Mingana had edited and translated from a thirteenth century Arabic manuscript in the possession of this library, and which, down to 1901, when it was acquired as part of the Crawford collection of MSS., and as far back as 1843 had been in the possession of the Earls of Crawford and Balcarres. Of the earlier history of the manuscript we have no record beyond what the volume itself contains.

In the case of ‘At Ṭabari’s “Apology,” Father Peeters, without troubling to examine the manuscript, declares that it is, “parmi les supercheries littéraires." It is true that he does not actually suggest that this "supercherie" was fabricated at Manchester, but another member of the same society seems to be less scrupulous in the matter.

Father Maurice Bouyges, S.J., of Beyrouth follows up the review which appeared in the *Analecta*, and in two open printed letters addressed to the writer as Director of the John Rylands Library in 1924-25, the first of which runs to sixteen pages, has given his considered opinion upon the matter in the following passage : "Bien que votre manuscrit Crawford 631 porte la date 616 H (= 1229), je me crois autorisé à penser que l'apologie musulmane anti-chrétienne qu'il contient à été écrite par un Pseudo-Tabarimoderne, au XXme siècle." In other words, it is a forgery, by implication fabricated at Manchester, and would appear to suggest that I, as Director, am a party to the forgery.

I should not trouble to rebut this charge but for the fact that the printed letters have been widely circulated and I feel that it is my duty to clear Dr. Mingana from such a baseless charge.

It should be pointed out in the first place that Father Bouyges' support of the view of Father Peeters was most unscientific, for he failed to respond to my invitation to come to Manchester and to examine the manuscript for himself before putting into circulation his second open letter. It is true that he did ultimately visit Manchester, but not until 1928, during the time that the Oriental Congress was meeting at Oxford, when he was received with every courtesy, and given access to the manuscript.

Notwithstanding the proofs of antiquity, in the matter of paper and ink which the manuscript itself offers, and of the evidence that I was able to produce as to its presence in the Crawford collection as long ago as 1843, Father Bouyges still persisted in the attitude he had assumed, and deliberately refused to recede from it.

Some little time after the publication of the "Apology" the Shaikh ʻAbd al-Karim-Murād, of Fez came to Manchester from Morocco for the express purpose of satisfying himself as to the genuineness of the manuscript, and after a very thorough examination of it, which occupied the best part of two days, he expressed himself as completely satisfied as to its authenticity.

To those who have any acquaintance with early manuscripts it needs but a careful scrutiny of the paper or other material upon which they are written, and of the other distinctive features which they possess, to satisfy themselves without the shadow of a doubt, that two such documents could not have been written in the nineteenth or twentieth century, but in the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries respectively.

It is difficult upon the face of the matter to understand the attitude of these two scholars, and it is only to those who are able to read between the lines that the subtlety of their attack becomes apparent.

We cannot refrain from remarking that our critics have overlooked one very striking result of their conclusions in that they have unconsciously paid a very high tribute to Dr. Mingana's scholarship, by attributing to him the ability to produce so remarkable a piece of writing as that of 'At-Ṭabari, and of framing that and the other document, to which exception has been taken, in the classic Arabic and Syriac in which they are written, and which has called forth the admiration and gratitude of such oriental scholars as Dr. Noldeke, Professor Snouck Hurgronje and Professor A. J. Wensinck of Leiden, Professor Fischer of Leipzig, Professor Margoliouth of Oxford, Professor Nicholson of Cambridge, and others.

In the following remarks Dr. Mingana speaks for himself.

REMARKS ON THE EARLY SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY IN CENTRAL ASIA.

In 1925 I published in the BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY a study on the spread of Christianity in Central Asia. At the end of that study I added as an appendix a new Syriac document purporting to give fresh details on the conversion of some ancient Turks to Christianity. In a review of my study in *Byzantion* (1929, 569-574) a Belgian Jesuit, P. Peeters by name, attempts in a covert manner to attribute to me the paternity of the document, or in plain English he endeavours to insinuate that it was I who had forged it.

In a previous review written by him in connection with another publication of mine, the *Book of Religion and Empire*, which contains an apology of Islam by the famous physician 'Ali ibn Rabban aṭ-Ṭabari, he also, in conjunction with another Jesuit called M. Bouyges, gave it as his opinion that this work was "by an 'Ali Ṭabari of the twentieth century," a subtle sentence which in plain English referred to myself as the forger of this Arabic book.

There is no need to repeat here that in an earlier issue of this BULLETIN[1] I showed conclusively that the manuscript containing 'Ali Ṭabari's apology of Islam was acquired by the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres before A.D. 1843, so I could not possibly have forged it. I also asserted—and my assertion is absolutely unchallengeable—that the general condition of the manuscript, the paper on which it is written, the mode of writing used in it and all the other palæographical peculiarities that it exhibits, stamp it as authentic in every respect without a shadow of doubt. Any one with an expert knowledge would recognise it as a thirteenth century manuscript.

So far as the document dealing with the conversion of the Turks is concerned, in addition to the Rylands MS. which I have utilised for my edition, I discovered its text two years ago in another manuscript acquired by me in Persia, which forms part of my own collection and is numbered Mingana Syr. 71. This manuscript on palæographic grounds cannot be later than A.D. 1600-1650, and the place which the document occupies in it, *i.e.*, ff. 40^a-47^a precludes the possibility of forgery. Indeed both manuscripts are of mixed contents and deal with a large variety of subjects.

When my attention was first drawn to the unworthy nonsense of the above two writers I naturally thought that the best way to deal with it was for obvious reasons to ignore it, but on the advice of many friends I have deemed it advisable to write the present note as a general explanation to all thoughtful scholars whose only aim is the advancement of science and the attainment of truth without any personal bias. *Intelligenti pauca.*

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[1] 1927, p. 99. See also *ibid.*, 1925, pp. 236-240.

THE DEPOSITION OF RICHARD II.

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AND

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I.

AN interest far in excess of its historical value, or so it seemed, has always attached to an anonymous chronicle published more than eighty years ago by Benjamin Williams as an appendix to the *Chronique de la Traison et Mort de Richard Deux.*[1] It was only a fragment, without beginning or end, drawn from a corrupt seventeenth-century transcript, and it contains little more of value than a description of the revolution of 1399. But the writer, if hardly an eyewitness of these events, was at least a contemporary, and historians have valued it above all as the unique statement, the French chronicles apart, of the point of view of Richard's supporters.

It is the original text of this chronicle which is here printed from a fifteenth-century MS. (no. 9) in the Library of Gray's Inn; and the discovery of the original, it will be seen, has both rescued much of the chronicle, before and after 1399, that was unprinted by Williams, and has made it possible to fix definitely its date, provenance, and value. These points are dealt with below in the first part of the paper, and are of some complexity since the chronicle turns out to be the composite product of two writers of strongly opposed views. Indeed, it almost seems as though a rare chance has revealed to us within a Cistercian Abbey the clash of opinion during a revolution and the partisanship, which it is natural to suppose were reflected in monastic life, but which can so rarely be proved. But the chronicle is something more than a literary curiosity. In the work of editing, we were persuaded that it supplies weighty evidence for a restatement of the facts regarding Richard II.'s deposition. Other neglected or unknown material which came to light, showed a similar inconsistency with the accepted story and the convergence of such various and independent evidence suggested the reconsideration of the fall of Richard which is the second portion of this paper.

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[1] *Chronique de la Traison et Mort de Richard Deux* (*Eng. Hist. Soc.*, 1846), pp. 280-285.

The small but precious collection of Gray's Inn MSS. was catalogued by A. J. Horwood in 1869. It was this little-known catalogue which called our attention to the chronicle. In a full description of MS. no. 9 it is mentioned as follows :—

> From 142*b* (accession of Richard II.) the MS. proceeds very much in the style of the "Brute" chronicles. Down to the death of Rich. II. it is by a partisan of that King ; then, 145*b*, col. 1, is an interpolation by the copyist or the composer of the following portion, stating that he finds much in his copy that is untrue, "et hoc scio pro certo, quia in multis locis interfui et vidi." The chronicle ends on 146*a*,[1] after describing the battle of Shrewsbury and the execution of some of the rebels. . . . There is nothing to show the ancient owner of this volume.

It is remarkable that Horwood, his interest once aroused, did not track down his text to the extracts which had been published some twenty years earlier. It is even more remarkable that he failed to discover its provenance, which appears from an analysis of the relevant section of the MS. It falls roughly into two parts, of which the first (ff. 1-86) is a well-known Latin poem, the *Speculum Humane Salvacionis*,[2] and the second is of a miscellaneous historical character.[3] The second section can in turn be divided into two parts. Of these the first (ff. 88-128) consists chiefly of large extracts from Henry of Huntingdon's chronicle, and the second (ff. 129-146), with which we are alone concerned, is a tripartite chronicle divided as follows :—

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[1] *Recte* 147*a*.

[2] Ed. J. Lutz and P. Perdrizet (1907), 2 parts. The Gray's Inn MS. was not known to the editors.

[3] The *Speculum* may not originally have been bound up with the rest of the volume and is written on slightly larger parchment ; it is also separately paged.

Part I. : ff. 129-136 is headed *Excerpciones de diversis auctoribus de monarchia anglie de orbe terrarum et de ejus demensione et divisione.* It is a general description of England, its laws, customs, geography taken from Bede, Higden, and Geraldus. It ends on f. 136 : *Explicit prima pars.*

Part II. : ff. 136-141 is (chiefly) a history of the Earls of Chester and of Dieulacres Abbey, written in the thirteenth century by a monk of that house.[1] Therein is a list of the kings of England with the length of their reigns, which gives the year of Henry IV.'s accession but not that of his death. It ends on f. 141 : *Explicit secunda pars.*

Part III. : ff. 141-147 is a history of England from 1337 to 1403, headed *Incipiunt guerre inter Angliam et Franciam.*

After several blank leaves the volume ends with a short theological tract describing a "Tower of Wisdom," the work of a certain *Magister Iohannes Metensis* or *Metlynsis.*

The whole of the tripartite chronicle was evidently compiled by a single writer writing apparently before 1413 and trying, not unsuccessfully, to combine local with general history.[2] Further, this writer, it can hardly be doubted, was a monk of Dieulacres, the composition of whose work was determined by the nature of his materials, *viz.*, the standard histories for Part I. ; an earlier, thirteenth-century chronicle of Dieulacres for Part II. ; for Part III. another chronicle the composition of which is examined below. It is obvious that the plan of the chronicle was governed by the compiler's possession of the earlier account of the Abbey.[3]

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[1] On f. 137 is a list of the earls of Chester headed *Comites Cestrie fundatores de Deulencres.*

[2] It is written in two hands, the first from f. 129-132, the second from this point to the end. The *Speculum* was, perhaps, written in the second of these hands.

[3] Printed in Monasticon (V. 626). The chronicle is headed *Descripcio genealogice comitum Cestrie* and is anonymous, but the contents prove its provenance. The existence of the original MS. was unknown to the editors of Dugdale who printed from an incomplete and extremely corrupt transcript. The identification of the MS. is of interest for the history of Staffordshire, and the chronicle might well be reprinted. It is worth noting that the name of the abbey is consistently written as *Deulencres :* but this can hardly be taken to settle the question of the correct spelling, since the still earlier charters of Ranulf Blundeville as consistently use the form *Deulacresse.* *Cf.* William Salt, *Arch. Soc.*, vol. ix., New Series, p. 293.

The ascription of the whole volume to Dieulacres is confirmed by the fact that it belongs to a group of manuscripts, one of which (Manuscript No. 10) was the property of Ralph Egerton in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century.[1] Ralph was the legitimate son of Sir Richard Egerton of Ridley, Cheshire; his bastard brother was Thomas Egerton, Lord Chancellor, 1596-1617,[2] the owner of the manor of Dodleston, some five miles south-west of Chester. As the property had formerly belonged to Dieulacres, it was probably in this way that the volume came into the hands of Ralph Egerton and so to the Gray's Inn Library.

In examining Part III. of the MS. (ff. 141-147), we start trom Horwood's acute discovery of its divided authorship. The writer of the portion 1337 to 1400, whom we may call A, was a strong partisan of Richard II.; while his continuator to 1403, who may be called B, was an equally strong admirer of Henry IV. Now the whole of this section (1337-1403) is in a single script, and we may therefore conclude that the present MS. can only be a copy of the portion originally compiled by A. We may next ask whether Gray's Inn MS. no. 9 contains B's autograph or the original continuation of A? In other words, Was B the compiler of the whole tripartite chronicle? The answer is that he was not, but that the compiler of the existing

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[1] About one half of the extant MSS. of Gray's Inn have a definite Cheshire interest which suggests that they once formed a single private collection. Four of them (Nos. 1, 5, 11, 12) are known from notes in the volumes to have belonged to the Friars Minor of Chester, to whom it is probable, though not certain, that Nos. 2, 6, 7, 14 and 23 also belonged. Of the rest No. 8 is by "Jehan de Souhabe" of the Order of Friars Preachers and may possibly have also belonged to the Minorites of Chester. No. 13 belonged to "St. Mary de Cumba by Coventry" and No. 16 is by a Dominican of Dalmatia called Monaldus. No. 9 (the Dieulacres MS.) clearly belonged to this group, and we learn from the transcript in Harleian MS. 1989 (f. 403 or 39 according to the pencil number) that it was once in the custody of "Mr. Bostock," doubtless Lawrence Bostock, a well-known Cheshire antiquary of the late sixteenth century (Ormerod, *History of Cheshire*, I. xxxix.). There is an account of his historical collections in Dr. Foote Gower's tract published in 1771 proposing a new history of Cheshire. It is possible that this volume passed directly to the Inn from Bostock, or indirectly through the Randall Holmes or Challoner Families. But on the whole the view set out in the text seems more likely, *viz.* that it belonged, together with the other Cheshire MSS., to the Egerton family, and passed from them to the library of Gray's Inn.

[2] Ormerod, *Cheshire II.*, 301; Foss, *Judges of England*, pp. 228 ff.

MS. had before him a chronicle, already composite, extending to 1403. The proof of this is apparently slight but really conclusive. If the reader will turn to p. 170 below, he will be struck by the fact that the hexameter

Contra naturam tauri dispergere curam

now incorporated in the text must have been a marginal gloss in an earlier MS. Similarly on pp. 177-8 the words

Quia nondum venerat tempus eius sed adhuc "Renovabuntur castra Veneris," which are wholely contrary to the tone of what precedes and follows, must have been ignorantly transferred into the text from the margin of another MS. It is not difficult to see what has happened. The original MS. of A was continued by B from 1400-1403. Then some sympathiser with Richard II., not A,[1] scribbled in the margin these two prophecies, one of which (*Renovabuntur castra Veneris*) he had already written at the head of Richard II.'s reign and which has been duly copied by the scribe of Gray's Inn MS. 9.[2] We must therefore conclude that the compiler of the existing MS., whom we may call C, was merely copying a composite chronicle whose separate authors have yet to be discovered. That this conclusion is substantially correct is borne out by the frequent passages abruptly terminated by the words *etc.*[3] C was not only copying the whole chronicle but abbreviating it in places.

The possibility, it may be said, remains that Gray's Inn 9 is a later transcript or fair copy of the original tripartite chronicle, of which B was in fact the compiler. But this is rendered unlikely by the fact that the present MS. was apparently written before the death of Henry IV., while the excisions and deletions in the early folios of the MS., the striking difference between the various hands in which it is written, and the frequent blanks between the entries on the last three folios, as though to leave room for fresh matter, prove fairly conclusively that we are dealing with an archetype which has "grown" and not with a later transcript.

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[1] Since A believed that Richard had died at Pontefract in 1400. Below p. 174.

[2] It is possible that the same hand is responsible for the inconsistent comment (below p. 176), "Sed quampluribus discretis videbatur quod causa dictarum tempestatum principaliter fuit quia predicti iustum titulum contra eos non habuerunt." *Cf.* too p. 181 n. 2.

[3] Below pp. 167, 172, 175-6, 178, 181.

The provenance of the original compilation from 1337-1403 is thus not so certain as that of the surviving MS. It would seem natural to assume that it was written at Dieulacres, but against this we may set the common assumption of historians who used the printed fragment,[1] that the early portion was written at Chester. At first sight the loyalty of A to Richard, together with the reference to de Vere and Bolingbroke in Chester, the account of the Cheshire Guard and of the coming of Harry Percy to the county, suggest that A was a religious living permanently in the town itself. But it seems inconceivable that the account of the Peasants' Revolt should have been written by a Chester monk without the slightest reference to the rising in the Wirral of the bondmen of S. Werburg's Abbey

> "in contemptum domini regis et affraiam et perturbacionem pacis sue manifestum et terrorem populi sui tam civitatis Cestrie quam totius comitatus predicti et ad nullacionem et destruccionem predicti abbatis et conuentus sui ac bonorum et catallorum domus et ecclesie sue predicte."[2]

The Chester references, though frequent and of great interest, are never in the first person and have a certain detachment as (of Henry's entry)

> "Deus scit quo animo a civibus receptus."

In fact the whole tone of these references suggests a writer whose Cheshire news came to him intermittently, exactly the way in which we can imagine news coming to Dieulacres. The Chartulary shows that the Abbey held fishing rights in the Dee, one "liberum batellum in aqua Cestrense," a garden at the bridge head and lands at Pulford, Poulton, and Dodleston, less than six miles south of the city. Care of this property must have made frequent visits necessary, at least as often as once a year for the audit of the reeves' accounts. Now Dieulacres was as much a Cheshire as a Staffordshire house; it was originally at Poulton on the Dee and in 1214 it was refounded by Ranulf, sixth Earl of Chester on the county border, within a few miles of Newcastle-under-Lyme. It held salt pans in the Wiches, lands and fishing rights along the Dee, and property in Chester itself.

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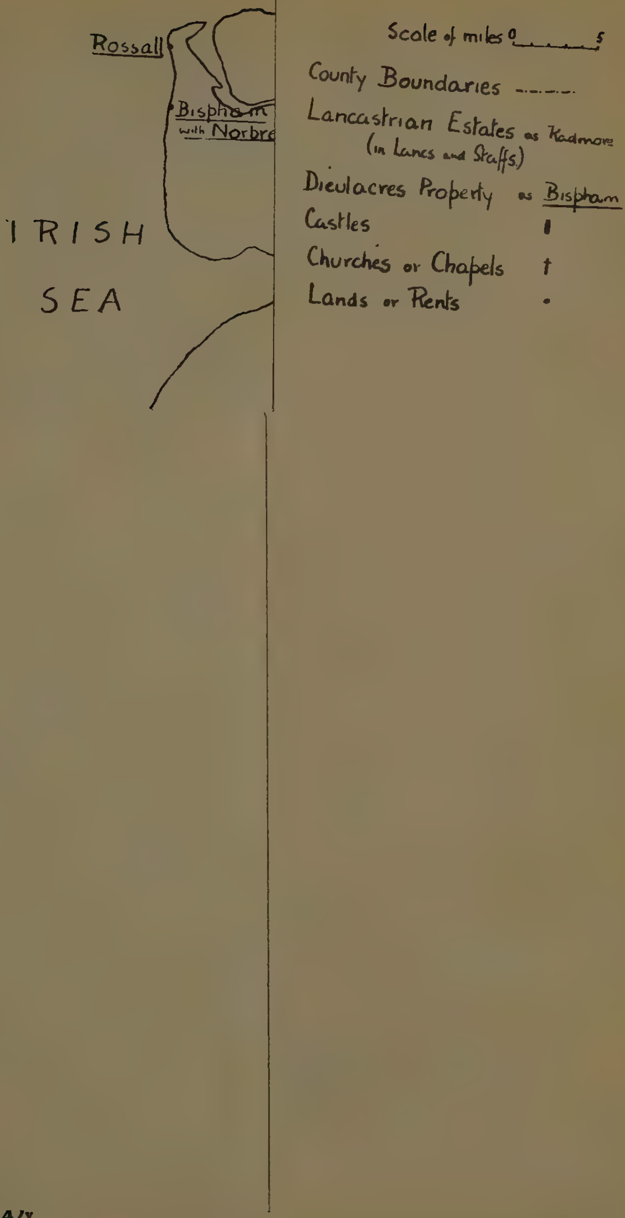
[1] *E.g.*, Professor Tait in D.N.B. *sub* "Richard II."

[2] Trevelyan and Powell, *The Peasants Rising and the Lollards*, pp. 15-16.


Rossall
Bispham
with Norbre
IRISH
SEA
Scale of miles 0 5
County Boundaries
Lancastrian Estates as Kadmore (in Lancs and Staffs)
Dieulacres Property as Bispham
Castles
Churches or Chapels †
Lands or Rents •

ºf. 142ᵛ.

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Closely in touch with Cheshire and royalist interests, it also lay on the northern frontier of Lancastrian influence in Staffordshire. It is in just such a house we should expect to find both knowledge of events in Cheshire and Shropshire and clash of opinion over the rival claims of Plantagenet and Lancaster.[1]

This conclusion, it must be admitted, is not more than an hypothesis. It is, however, supported by the fact that all three writers, A, B, and C, follow one another so closely in point of time. Thus A wrote either after February, 1408, if we accept the MS. reading of *comitem* (p. 174) or after 1403 which seems more likely, if we amend the MS. and read *comitis.*[2] Again B states in effect that he finished his chronicle before the death of Edmund Mortimer (Dec., 1408-Feb., 1409),[3] and the MS. as we have it was apparently finished before the death of Henry IV. These dates give but little time for circulation of MSS. and suggest strongly the personal connexion of common membership of the same house.

The narrative of A, of which only the portion 1381-1400 is here printed, probably began in 1337.[4] As far as the death of Edward III. he used a meagre continuation of the Polychronicon, which is of no special interest. With the accession of Richard II. there is a marked change of style : he ceases to transcribe and becomes himself the author. The first entry describes the coronation of the *nobilis et excellentissimus rex regum omnium terrenorum Ricardus secundus.* This is followed by a column of prophecies and verses ending with the note

> plura de laude et nobilitate istius regis dicti albi[5] regis et nobilis possent hic interseri secundum diversorum scripturas sed quia estimo quod prolixitas scriptur(arum) quosdam invidos non modicum tribueret tedium ideo ad presens hic multa omitto alibi ea inserere proponendo.[6]

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[1] See the map facing, which we owe to the skilful draughtsmanship of Miss G. Hipkin of Somerville College.

[2] The MS. reads "comite(m) Northimbrie filium et fratrem pro mercede decapitavit."

[3] Below p. 177 "et in operacione istius cronice in eodem errore perseveravit."

[4] An early entry (f. 141) suggests that the Edward III. portion, as well as what follows, formed a part of A's work. About the Feast of St. Nicholas (1337), it says, there occurred an eight weeks' frost *ita ut in dissumpcione gelicidii multi pontes caderent et maxime apud Cestriam.*

[5] *Cf.* Adam of Usk's Chronicle, ed. E. M. Thompson (1904), 28, 179.

[6] f. 142v.

The rest of the column is left blank, the continuous history of the reign beginning on the next folio with an account of the Peasants' Revolt. The chronicle has little direct historical importance, until the writer reaches the events of 1399 which he knew at first hand. For the earlier portion he had, clearly, neither special information nor even good books to draw on. His fondness for the metrical prophecies of Merlin and John of Bridlington suggests that he relied chiefly upon the popular, versified histories of the time, all written from the Lancastrian point of view.[1] The interest thus lies in the interpretation a royalist writer puts on facts well known and by his sources construed to the king's discredit.

Apart from a few incidents of church history—a papal indulgence, Bishop Spenser's crusade—the chronicle is concerned only with the struggle of the "just" and "innocent" king with his "rebel" and "perjured" barons. There are occasional references to the king's council, but parliament is mentioned only once in the year 1399 (when it could hardly be omitted)—and the Commons not at all. The unlimited nature of the royal power is summarised in his comment on the Appellant's rising.

> Sed absurdum est servum vel subditum contra suum dominum esse rebellem.

This unqualified belief in the rightness of the king, colours the interpretation of every crisis of the reign. The arrest of the Appellants, for example, in 1397, he regards as a just retribution for their rebellion ten years before.

> Sed quia nullum malum erit impunitum deus cor regis illustravit ut predictos rebelles quodammodo puniret unde . . . arestavit etc.

The murder of the Duke of Gloucester is described as a mystery, but since the king can do no wrong, it is at least certain that he was not responsible,

> obiit qua morte deus scit justo rege non consenciente.

In the same spirit he mentions the closing incidents of Richard's autocracy—the "blank" charters and the banishment of Henry of

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[1] *E.g.*, Wright, *Political Poems and Songs* (*Rolls Series*), I., 417-454. The verses were accompanied by notes, which were in effect a chronicle. The dates make it unlikely that the writer actually saw Gower's *Tripartite Chronicle*.

Lancaster—as matters of hearsay only (*ut quidam dixerunt*) and seems to suggest that the blame lies with the Council.

For the return of Henry of Lancaster and his movements in and about Chester, the chronicle is an authority, as valuable for the facts he gives as for the construction he puts upon them. The revolution of 1399 had its sordid side, and no other chronicle brings this out with such force and brevity. In a few gloomy pages he describes how Henry's banner attracted all kinds of rogues and robbers who were in exile, the pillage of the county of Chester ("*Havok*" *super eam proclamato*), and the final surrender to Henry IV.

The continuation of B begins with the protest against A, referred to above.

> Iste commentator in locis quampluribus vituperat commendanda et commendat vituperanda et hoc est magnum vicium in scripturis et maxime in strenuis personis quando aliquis scribit de eis enormia per aliorum loquelam et non per veram noticiam sicut in copia multa fuerunt scripta minus vera et hoc scio pro certo quia in multis locis interfui et vidi et propterea veritatem novi.[1]

We are justified in supposing that the writer of this protest was the compiler of the continuation of the chronicle to 1403, and that he was a monk of Dieulacres Abbey. The patron of the abbey was Henry IV. and it is perhaps not going too far to suggest that the original compiler of the continuation was a clerk in the service of Henry IV. who entered Dieulacres Abbey after the revolution. The chronicle, so far as it goes, is consistent with this view. It is largely confined to Welsh border affairs culminating in the battle of Shrewsbury—matters of close interest to the monks of Dieulacres. And that the writer knew the king at first hand is likely enough from the vivid description of his heroic conduct at the battle of Shrewsbury. He knows, too, the name of the king's confessor—Robert Mascal, a detail preserved in none of the other chronicles. It has been thought that the name of the compiler is preserved. The last folios of the MS. describe, with a number of diagrams, a "Tower of Wisdom" the author of which was a Master John Metensis or Metlynsis. The seventeenth century transcriber of the chronicle in Harley MS. 1989 assumed that this was the compiler of the continuation, but although this is possible there is really no proof or even indication that he wrote it.

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[1] Below p. 174.

B's work it will be seen lacks the personal interest of A's chronicle. This defect, however, is more than counterbalanced by an excellent account of the battle of Shrewsbury and in particular of the obscure negotiations between Henry IV. and Hotspur which immediately preceded it. It is apparently independent of all the other chronicles and mentions a number of facts found in none of them. At the same time it is in general agreement with the best extant authority —the *Annales Henrici Quarti*, while many matters of detail, when not supported by the *Annales*, are borne out by one or other of the narratives of the battle. Still other statements are substantiated by the official sources such as the Patent Rolls and the Privy Council Proceedings. Where so much can be verified it is tempting to accept the account of the negotiations between Percy and Henry IV. on the day of the battle. The question is one of real importance, but in the nature of things is likely to remain more or less a matter of conjecture. Which side was finally responsible for the battle? The royalists blamed the Earl of Worcester, the Lancastrians the Scottish Earl of Dunbar: while the judicious chronicler, whose work was printed by Giles, divides the blame equally between the two.[1] The Dieulacres writer, who does not even mention the Earl of Dunbar, boldly lays upon Henry IV. the direct responsibility for joining battle though only after he had offered the rebels every possible concession. The king, he explains, was loth to fight and offered either a free parliament or even to meet Percy in single combat. Part at least of his statement is confirmed by Bower's *Scotichronicon*.[2]

> Cui (Percy) rex subdolo nuncium misit exhortans eum ut parceret effusioni sanguinis; et si sibi videbatur quod iniuste coronam usurpasset convocato parliamento ad insinuacionem prelatorum et procerum coronam deponeret et debenti eam tradi consentiret.

Bower adds that Percy accepted these terms and ordered his men to bivouac for the night: whereupon the king, waiting until his enemies had dispersed, suddenly attacked them. The important point in this account is that so hostile a witness as Bower admits that Henry made an offer to summon a free parliament, though he holds that the offer was not made in good faith. The *Annales* and the *Eulogium His-*

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[1] *Chronicon incerti auctoris*, ed. Giles, 1848, p. 32.

[2] *Scotichronicon*, ed. W. Goodall (1759), ii., 438.

toriarum agree that it was the king who eventually broke off negotiations, but while the first says Percy's archers actually began the fight, the *Eulogium* states, almost in the words of the Dieulacres writer, that the king gave the signal to advance.

> "Precor dominum," dixit rex, "quod tu habeas respondere pro sanguine hic hodie effundendo et non ego. Procede signifer," quod est dictu, "anauant baner."[1]

But the Dieulacres writer is rather more explicit at this critical point, and attributes to Henry IV. a remarkable outburst not elsewhere recorded. Losing all patience, he says, the king when his offers were refused, cried out to Hotspur's ambassadors,

> Divulgatum mihi esse vestrum nequam consilium. Profiteor quod me vivente in eternum non fiet. Disponitis siquidem filios comitis Marchie spurios et Edmundum de Mortuo mari proditorem approbare; sicque Henricum Percy vel filium eius iure hereditario uxoris sue in regem coronare.[2]

We can well believe that this was precisely what was in Henry IV.'s mind; nor is it unlikely that Hotspur may have had dreams of the throne or even designs upon it. Two incidental statements in other chronicles point in this direction. The chronicle, printed by Giles,[3] says that Worcester hoped for the king's death in the battle "ut ipso extincto, sub suo consanguineo melius valeret dominari;" while, according to the *Annales*, Hotspur's troops, at the critical moment in the battle, cried out (*clamabant ingeminantes*), "Henry Percy Kyng."[4] He had disappeared, we are told, and his followers were hoping against hope that he had captured Henry IV.—and thus that no obstacle remained in his way. Here again casual references in other chronicles seem to confirm a remarkable statement of B. Is there, one may ask, any other explanation as simple and as likely, of Hotspur's inconsistent actions in this half-unexplained revolt?

If Bower, the *Eulogium* and the *Annales* support the Dieulacres writer's account of the negotiations before the battle, he in turn goes far to substantiate a most curious document preserved only by the chronicler Hardyng. This is the proclamation made by Percy and his friends in which they accuse Henry IV. of having murdered Richard II. The proclamation mentions

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[1] *Eulogium Historiarum*, III., 397. Below p. 179 *Precedat vexillum in nomine domini.*

[2] Below p. 179.

[3] P. 33; the authorship of this chronicle is discussed below, pp. 149-153.

[4] *Annales Henrici Quarti* (*Rolls Series in "Trokelowe"*), 368.

> Quod quando tu post exilium tuum Angliam intrasti, apud Doncastre tu jurasti nobis supra sacra evangelia corporaliter per te tacta et osculata iuxta clamare regnum, seu regium statum nisi solummodo hereditatem tuam propriam et hereditatem uxoris tue in Anglia, et quod Ricardus dominus noster rex ad tunc regnaret ad terminum vite sue gubernatus per bonum consilium dominorum spiritualium et temporalium.[1]

The oath is duly mentioned below, though with slight variations.

> Henricus dux juravit aliis duobus Henricis super reliquias de Bridlynton quod coronam nunquam affectaret.

Hardyng is one whose testimony, other things being equal, one would more readily reject than believe, but so confirmed, the genuineness of this proclamation which has a real bearing on the question of Richard's deposition, must be accepted.

The value of this unusual little chronicle, compounded of two such different elements, is greater than perhaps might be gathered by a casual reading. In the early part we feel the impact of great events upon that part of England that was most attached to Richard II. : it was written close to these events, and it is the unique and pathetic statement of the case of those who believed in him. Yet whoever feels that Richard has been hardly used by historians, will scarcely claim to revise the general verdict of contemporaries on the strength of this Dieulacres chronicle. It does indeed suggest that Richard had a party in 1399 had he known how to use it ; but it illumines no dark place in the reign before the year 1399, and the writer in his abuse of Henry IV. shows a malice at least as great as that with which he credits his opponents. But if it helps Richard but little, it does much, it will be seen, to blacken the character of his enemies, and to discredit the official version on the Rolls of Parliament of the actual process of deposition.

The work of the continuator leaves no such direct impression as that of the original writer : but it is at least plain, from his own statement, that he had a sound conception of truth in historical writing. He had grasped how much evil is spoken in current gossip of men who hold great positions, and in his account of the battle of Shrewsbury there is every reason to think he lived up to his own standard, writing *per veram noticiam et non per aliorum loquelam.*

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[1] *The Chronicle of John Hardyng* (1812), 352.

II.

The Revolution of 1399 is perhaps as fully documented as any event of equal importance in mediæval history, yet the main trend of events remains in obscurity, over-shadowed not by a cloud of witnesses but from their alignment into two hostile camps. The contemporary authorities have been ranged against each other as Lancastrian propagandists or as French royalists—English testimony versus French, one man's word against another's. On the whole, orthodox historians have accepted the English version. They follow the lead of Stubbs who dismissed the crucial problem of the place and terms of Richard's abdication in two sentences. "He saw at once that all was over and made no attempt to stem the tide of desertion and ingratitude. After a conference held at Conway . . . he offered to resign the crown." This rapid slurring over the decisive moment in the revolution reflects the attitude of the official Lancastrian apologists, the S. Albans Chroniclers and Adam of Usk. Behind them is the weighty testimony of the Parliament Roll, and to challenge it is to challenge the orthodox interpretation of the whole cause and course of the revolution.

Stubbs dismissed the main French authority, Creton, as "so much at variance with other authorities that it cannot be relied upon at all," but as far back as 1824 Creton's editor, Webb, rejected the official version and maintained that the decisive point of variance was the place and terms of Richard's abdication. Was it at Conway, at Flint or in the Tower and on what conditions? Accepting Creton's story in detail, he concluded: "I am reluctantly compelled to look upon the ground of Richard's retirement . . . given in the Parliament Roll to be a gross fabrication by Henry IV. for purposes of state. . . ."[1]

In 1846 Benjamin Williams, the editor of the *Traison et Mort*, put forward the view that the Parliament Roll must be "branded with fabrication" because it was contradicted by "the testimony of two foreign and independent chroniclers."[2] This judgement was adopted by Wallon in *Richard II.: Episode de la Rivalité de la*

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[1] *Archæologia*, XX., p. 138.

[2] *Traison et Mort*, p. 202, note.

France et de l'Angleterre (1864).[1] He accepted the whole French version and concluded that "la fausseté de l'abdication de Richard à Conway est prouvée."

Webb, Williams, and Wallon came to the same conclusion for reasons that were substantially the same. They believed that Creton's *Histoire du roy d'Angleterre Richard* and the *Traison et Mort* were independent of each other, and they accepted Creton's picture of himself as an eye-witness at Conway. The French authorities name only Northumberland as Henry's envoy and this, a matter on which an eye-witness could not err, is made a test of English veracity. The English official version emphasises the presence of Archbishop Arundel; therefore, they argue, it must be false. They also point out the improbability of abdication at Conway, where Richard was free, rather than at Flint, where he was a prisoner.

All these arguments, except the last, rest on premises which do not bear close examination. The two French authorities are not independent, but interdependent. The author of the *Traison* began his narrative at 1397 and apparently wrote with special knowledge until Richard's departure for Ireland in May, 1399. For the critical months of June to September he obviously borrowed from Creton, adding no detail of his own and merely swelling his text by putting into Richard's mouth much tearful complaining and rhetorical appeals to the king and princes of France. As an independent witness he must be put out of court. We are left with Creton, on his own showing an eye-witness from Richard's sailing for Ireland until his imprisonment in Chester Castle. The exact and realistic detail of much of his narrative bears out the claim, but it has been too hastily assumed that because he was an eye-witness for part of the time that he was an eye-witness all the time. This is exactly what he wished his readers to believe, but in his double anxiety to convince and to make a pathetic appeal for Richard he over-reached himself. He admits that he did not sail with Richard from Ireland; "for the sake of song and merriment," he went with Salisbury's contingent to Conway. At the point when he describes Salisbury's advance to the Cheshire border, his style becomes inflated and the sequence of events confused. There is no longer anything in his narrative to suggest personal observation and much that can be explained only as a misunderstanding of the tales of others. He reports with equal fulness Richard's conclaves at Conway and Henry's at Chester, and has a more convincing account of the surrender of Holt than of anything that was happening in Wales at the same time. His chronology will not work. He says that Richard first heard of Henry's landing through news of the executions at Bristol which we know took place on July 29.[1] He then describes how Richard was hindered by Aumarle's treachery from sailing until eighteen days after Salisbury had left. Even if Salisbury could have got under way as soon as August 1, Richard could not have reached South Wales before August 19. Yet he gives the date of Richard's coming to Chester as August 22, making no allowance for the journey north and even saying that eight days were spent in waiting for a reply to a message sent to Henry. To fill in the time, he describes aimless wanderings from Conway to Beaumaris, Carnarvon and back again, castles which the king had really visited on his hurried march north from Milford. In fact, he plainly had no personal knowledge of Richard's plans or movements and cannot be accepted as an eye-witness. Probably Salisbury left him with the garrision at Flint when he withdrew on Conway, an explanation which would account for the reappearance of convincing detail from the point when Northumberland brought Richard to Flint. It would also account for his failure to mention Archbishop Arundel's mission to Conway, a fact on which all other authorities are agreed, and for the false and hollow ring in Richard's lamentations. This forlorn and weeping king, railing against ingratitude, is a progagandist legend; the Richard Creton saw with his own eyes was "pale with anger."

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[1] Vol. II., p. 247.

If we thus reduce the French authorities to one and dismiss Creton's claim to be heard as an eye-witness, it must be granted that Webb and his followers have failed to prove their case. The value of their work lies in the attention they draw to the inherent improbabilities of the story on the Parliament Roll. We are asked to believe that Richard abdicated at Conway when he was free and in a strong castle with shipping in the bay which could have brought him to Dublin or to Bordeaux, and that he confirmed his abdication in the Tower with joyful face (*hilari vultu*), and without any protest of his right to confront Parliament or to have some form of trial. These difficulties, first stated over a century ago, have never been resolved nor the real value of the French narratives estimated. The discovery of new chronicle material and the examination of official documents makes it possible to open the whole question again and to attempt to find an answer.

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[1] *Rot. Parl.*, III., 656. Petition of Rauf Grene.

In the first place it is necessary to fix the chronology of events. Stubbs, Ramsay, Tait, and Tout accept the dates of the *Annales*, Evesham, Creton and the *Traison* in so far as they place the critical days of negotiation and surrender in the third full week of August, but some juggling with figures was necessary before they reached the conclusion that Richard surrendered at Conway on the seventeenth, saw Henry at Flint on the eighteenth, rode to Chester on the nineteenth, and set out for London on the following day.[1] They had no warrant for putting the Conway interview on the seventeenth, but it was necessary to push everything back one day to account for the issue of writs for a parliament at Chester on the nineteenth. Even then they made little allowance for the time and fatigue of the fifty miles' hard riding between Conway and Chester or for the march of some thousands of Henry's army to Flint and back again. They would have been wiser to adopt the chronology of Usk, who was certainly among the Lancastrian camp-followers. He shifts all events a week earlier and his dates are confirmed by official records. Henry was at Chester on August 9, and there letters patent were issued by Richard on August 16 and 17.[2] It is true that the Regent, York, was attesting royal letters at exactly the same time, but these are dated at Wallingford. The letters dated at Chester are the first that can be connected with the king's itinerary since his departure from Ireland in May, and we must accept them as proof of Richard's presence. We may assume, therefore, that he was in Chester on the sixteenth of August, and place the critical days of negotiation and surrender in the preceding week.

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[1] *Traison* dates the surrender August 18, *Annales*, August 20, and Creton gives August 22 as the day when Henry brought Richard to Chester. Evesham makes the envoys set out on Sunday the seventeenth to go to Richard, *abierunt ad regem*. They could not have reached Conway before the eighteenth, and he definitely dates the surrender *tertia die post haec*, *id est die Martis* (August 19).

[2] On August 10 Henry issued a safe conduct to the Prior of Beauval, tested at Chester, Madox, *Formulare Anglicanum*, p. 327. Usk and the Dieulacres chronicler agree that he reached Chester on the previous day. For the letters patent see *C.P.R.*, pp. 591, 592.

This change in chronology is not without significance. It brings order into the hitherto meaningless manœuvres of Lancastrian and royalist armies, and it throws into strong relief the relentless pressure of Henry's strategy and his full knowledge of the movements of the king. Henry was still at Bristol when he heard of Richard's landing in South Wales;[1] at once he guessed that the enemy's objective was Chester and made a rapid march north to forestall him. At Shrewsbury he had news from the deserters, Scales and Bardolf, and at Chester, Thomas Percy and Aumarle came in, running the gauntlet of the Welsh of the Towy valley to join his banner.[2] Salisbury's army, which had advanced to the Cheshire border, scattered in a panic, hearing that the king was dead; its commander, after this pitiful display of incompetence, withdrew to Conway, with barely a hundred men.[3] All this took place in the second full week of August. In the same week Richard, who had sailed from Ireland on July 27,[4] had lost his first army at Haverford West[5] through the treachery of Percy and Aumarle. He then travelled hard 160 miles along the Welsh coast to join the second army which he had sent with Salisbury to Conway, no doubt with orders to raise North Wales and Cheshire on his behalf; he found that it had dispersed on the eve of his coming. The chronology shows that Richard and Henry must both have been hurrying north at exactly the same time, only Henry, moving on the interior lines of the Wye and the Dee, was naturally far quicker. He reached Chester on August 9, and at once sent his envoys to Conway. Richard's messengers to him arrived just after Northumberland and the Archbishop had set out. Even if Richard took three days to deliberate, as the *Dieulacres Chronicle* suggests, he could still have left Conway on August 14 (the date given by Usk), reached Flint on the fifteenth, and on the sixteenth, when Henry's army had deployed before the castle, gone as a prisoner to Chester. We thus shorten by a week the time of Richard's wanderings in Wales, which historians have taken as a sign of crazy panic. Even with favouring winds from Ireland, only a bare fortnight can have passed before he heard that Henry was in Cheshire. He had lost two armies in as many weeks because Percy and Aumarle were knaves and Salisbury was a fool, but he had still his liberty and the self-confidence of an anointed king. He had not yet time to distrust his native ingenuity or to understand the terrible danger of his position. By cornering Richard in North Wales, Henry had isolated him from his supporters and cut him off from all authentic news. Bold in his ignorance, he took the risk of staying at Conway instead of withdrawing by sea. Is it probable that he should have promised to abdicate at the first message from his enemy ?

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[1] *Annales*, p. 247.

[2] *Evesham*, p. 154; *Creton*, pp. 104-5.

[3] *Creton*, p. 71.

[4] A note enrolled on the Foreign Accounts, quoted *Eulogium* III., lxii. n. 1; Below, p. 172, *circa* Aug. 1.

[5] Richard's personal baggage, plate and chapel furniture were seized at Haverford West, where he probably abandoned it before his march north. Palgrave, *Antient Kalendars and Inventories of the Treasury of the Exchequer*, III., 358.

In what may fairly be called the official Lancastrian Chronicles there is agreement over a plain tale of Richard's abdication at Conway. The *Annales* describe how Richard, when he saw no hope of escape, sent Exeter to Chester and how Archbishop Arundel and Northumberland came back to him as Bolingbroke's envoys. Then he told them "that he wished to resign and to be relieved of the trouble of governing, provided his life were spared . . . and that he had security for eight companions." When this security was granted he went to Flint to speak with Bolingbroke, and the cousins rode together, *bonum vultum invicem*, to Chester. Walsingham tells the same story in a shortened form and Usk repeats it, slightly amplified and with a change of dates. That we have here the official narrative is made clear by the definite statement on the roll of the Deposition Parliament : *idem rex . . . apud Conewey in North Wallia in sua libertate existens promisit Domino Thome Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi et dicto Comiti Northumbr' se velle cedere et renunciare Corone Anglie et Francie et sue Regie Magestati. . .*[1]

To this Creton's narrative is a flat contradiction. Northumberland offered Richard fair terms at Conway. If he would agree to refer to Parliament Henry's claim to be hereditary seneschal and to permit the trial of five of his councillors, he should be *couronnez haultement, roi et seigniur.* "Duke Henry . . . wisheth for nothing but his land, and that which appertaineth to him; neither would he have anything that is yours, for you are his immediate rightful king." After some privy consultation, Richard decided to feign agreement in hope of finding a way to his revenge; "there are some of them," he said, "whom I shall flay alive." When Northumberland was told his decision he replied—"Sire, let the body of our Lord be consecrated. I will swear that there is no deceit in this affair and that the duke will observe the whole as you have heard me relate it here." Each of them then heard mass and the earl "took oath upon the body of our Lord." The *Traison* is merely a redaction of the same story and, as Creton was not an eye-witness, we cannot reject the official narrative on his bare word. It is only by the help of other contemporary sources that we can decide between witnesses so sharply divergent.

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[1] *Rot. Parl.*, III., 416.

We cannot fairly deduce anything from silence, even from partisans like Gower and *Richard the Redeless.* But the Monk of Evesham deserves close consideration as a Lancastrian contemporary chronicler who gives us more exact topographical detail about Henry's movements than any other writer. He borrowed freely from S. Albans for the earlier part of his work and probably had access to the official *cedula* of the deposition parliament, as he quotes with verbal accuracy Richard's formal act of resignation. His story is that Richard interviewed the Archbishop and Northumberland at Flint and was then taken to Conway where Henry came to him with all reverence and said he had returned to enjoy his life, lands, and inheritance. There is no mention of abdication, but the transposition of Flint and Conway discredits the whole story. It cannot be imagined that Richard was carried forty miles back into Wales before Henry came to him. It may be explained away as a mere slip of the pen, but is it not possible that the confusion arose out of conflict between what Evesham had heard in the west and what he had read in the official *cedula*?

The first part of the *Dieulacres Chronicle*, now that we can be reasonably sure of its date and provenance, appears to us to decide the issue against the Parliament Roll. Though clearly independent in origin, it dovetails into Creton's story at point after point. A false adviser delayed Richard's sailing; Creton names him as Aumarle. Only fifteen remained in the royal suite; Creton says at one time thirteen and at another sixteen were faithful to the king. Richard lodged at Harlech, Carnarvon, and Beaumaris; Creton mentions, though in great confusion, visits to Beaumaris and Carnarvon. Apart from Creton's omission of Archbishop Arundel, the Dieulacres story of what happened at Conway is the French version, shorn of its rhetoric and propaganda. Henry's envoys claimed for him the hereditary stewardship of England and a free parliament; they swore on the host that Richard *staret in suo regali potestate et dominio.* After three days Richard accepted these terms and yet at Flint he was treated as a captive and a slave. There can be no doubt that the French version of the surrender and that current in Cheshire are essentially the same.

Further confirmation comes from a continuation of the *Polychronicon*, one manuscript of which belonged to the Cistercian Abbey of Whalley, Lancashire.[1] The monks of Whalley, like those of Dieulacres, had migrated from a Cheshire site to Lancastrian territory and, through their estates round Stanlaw, they retained a close connection with the Palatinate.[2] The Chronicle breaks off at 1430 and, from the treatment of the French war, it may be assumed that it was written not long after that date. The account of Richard's reign takes the same general line as the *Dieulacres Chronicle.*

> f. 232v. "Postmodum prefatus dux cum complicibus suis ivit Cestriam ubi dominus Ricardus rex securitate sibi facta per sacramentum domini Thome Arundel et comitis Northumbrie venit Cestriam ad colloquium, sed prefatus dux Herfordie contra iuramentum predictum cepit ibidem eundem Ricardum rege[m] et ducens London posuit in turri London' in custodia donec resignaret sibi coronam regni cum omni iure sibi pertinente.
>
> . . . Postmodum Ricardus quondam rex translatus est de turri London' usque ad castrum de Pomfret ubi diu ante mortem pane et aqua ut dicebatur sustentatus tandem fame necatus est secundum communem

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[1] Harleian MS. 3600; identical with Cotton Dom. A. XII. for Henry IV.'s reign. Kingsford, *English Historical Literature*, pp. 279 ff., prints the fifteenth-century portion under the title "A Northern Chronicle. 1399-1430."

[2] *Coucher Book of Whalley Abbey*, ed. W. A. Hulton, Cheetham Society, 1847.

> famam et sepultus apud Langley; deinde tempore Henrici quinti translatus est London' et ibi in ecclesia Westmon' honorifice tumulatur.[1]

It will be noted that Richard is said to have gone to Chester *ad colloquium* on security given on oath by Arundel and Northumberland. Though the whole story is contracted into a sentence, it is remarkable that the essential facts have been retained.

When we consider that the narrative of Creton is confirmed at the critical point by the Chronicles of Dieulacres and Whalley, and when we weigh this evidence against the significant confusion of Evesham and the smooth improbabilities of the official version, it is impossible to halt any longer between two opinions. The account on the Parliament Roll of the place and time of Richard's abdication must be false, deliberately concocted to gloss over the capture and coercion of the reigning king.

If we reject the story of free resignation at Conway confidence is naturally shaken in the account on the Parliament Roll of the true abdication in the Tower. It has often been noted that there is something strange in the description of Richard as showing a glad countenance (*hilari vultu*) to the commissioners who visited him in prison and in his insistence in reading his own renunciation, *Idem tamen Rex gratanter, ut apparuit, ac hillari vultu, cedulam . . . tenens, dixit semetipsum velle legere, et distincte perlegit eandem.*[2] Webb remarked on "an overstrained affectation of cheerful acquiescence . . . which defeats itself. The parties are all very courteous and happy in each other's society while it lasts. . . . The whole is curious; and, I fear, in many particulars, a piece of deliberately recorded falsehood." Ramsay drew exactly the opposite conclusion; he took Richard's good humour to prove that he had security for his personal safety: "there is," he says, "a naif simplicity about it that inspires confidence."

Examination of other contemporary sources appears to us once more to decide the question against the official record. In the first place Usk, a strong Lancastrian witness, makes no mention of Richard's cheerfulness in the abdication scene; it would have accorded ill with his account of a visit to the Tower a week earlier when, he says, he heard the king "discoursing sorrowfully . . . musing on his ancient and wonted glory and on the fickle fortune of the world."[1] Evesham is again just different enough to arouse suspicion. He represents Richard as causing the renunciation to be written out and merely saying, *Ego Ricardus, Rex praedictus, me subscribo.*[2] The *Traison*, a better authority than Creton for events in London, omits all reference to the renunciation and records as the king's last speech before deposition a demand to be brought before Parliament for trial.[3] The brief account in the *Dieulacres Chronicle* is a convincing compromise between the French and English versions. "Unde ne parliamentum intraret humiliter, ut dictum est, rogavit ; et corona regni super humo posita Deo ius suum resignavit." Resignation to God instead of to Bolingbroke is a last gesture characteristic of Richard. There is no contemporary confirmation for the fatuous scene of smiles and cordiality rehearsed for us on the Parliament Roll, and there seems no alternative but to reject it altogether.

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[1] There follows a remarkable passage about a deposition of Richard in 388, printed and discussed in Note B. Below pp. 157-161.

[2] *Rot. Parl.*, III., 416. *Cf. Annales*, 255.

A third and last issue is raised by the reference in the *Dieulacres Chronicle* and in the *Traison* to Richard's demand to be given a hearing in Parliament. There is no mention of any such demand in the official version, where it is implied that Richard was thoroughly satisfied with agreements reached in Conway or in the Tower. New light is thrown on the subject by examination of the unpublished portion of the work known as *Giles' Chronicle* 1848, which follows Evesham closely from 1377 to 1402 and extends to 1455. It is extant in two manuscripts, Sloane 1776 and the Royal MS. 13, C. 1. We may dismiss the Sloane MS. as a later copy, as it gives the four reigns continuously, while the Royal MS. has the reigns out of order as follows : Henry V. ; Henry VI. ; Richard II. and Henry IV. The part dealing with Henry V.'s reign is the *Gesta Henrici Quinti* of Thomas Elmham. We have, therefore, three distinct chronicles, one of which is a variant of Evesham.

The Royal manuscript contains two versions of the events of September 30, the second day of the deposition parliament ; one is scored out and reads at first sight like a rough draft of the other. A closer examination shows that the whole passage was partly copied and partly condensed from the Parliament Roll, with the addition of new matter describing a debate on the justice of deposing Richard without a hearing. Its significance cannot be understood except by verbal comparison with the Parliament Roll.

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[1] Usk, p. 30.

[2] Evesham, p. 159, with the addition that Richard reserved for himself certain lands and revenues which he intended to bequeath for his soul to Westminster.

[3] *Traison*, p. 218.

Rot. Parl. III. 417.

In crastino autem, videlicet die martis in festo Sancti Jeronimi, in magna aula apud Westm' in loco ad parliamentum tenendum honorifice preparato, dictis Archiepiscopis Cantuariensi et Eboracensi, ac duce Lancastrie, aliisque ducibus ac dominis . . . presentibus . . . supradictus archiepiscopus Eboracen' suo et dicti Hereforden' episcopi nomine . . . eandem cessionem et renunciationem per alium, primo in latinis verbis, et postea in anglicis, legi fecit ibidem. Et statim ut fuerat interrogatum a statibus et populo tunc ibidem presentibus, primo videlicet ab archiepiscopo Cantuarien' predicto, cui ratione dignitatis et prerogative ecclesie sue Cantuarien' metropolitice in hac parte competit primam vocem habere inter ceteros prelatos et proceres regni, si pro eorum interesse, et utilitate regni vellent renunciationem et cessionem eandem admittere? Status iidem et populus reputantes, ex causis per ipsum regem in sua renunciatione et cessione predictis specificatis, hoc fore multum expediens, renunciationem et cessionem hujusmodi singuli singillatim, et in communi cum populo, unanimiter et concorditer admiserunt. Postquam quidem admissionem fuerat publice tunc ibidem expositum, quod ultra cessionem et renunciationem hujusmodi, ut prefertur, admissam, valde foret expediens ac utile regno predicto, pro omni scrupulo et sinistra suspicione tollendis, quod plura crimina et defectus per dictum regem circa malum regimen regni sui frequentius perpetrata, per modum articulorum in scriptis redacta.

Royal MS. 13, C. 1, f. 115, excerpt A.

Et perlecta cedula renunciacionis omnes ad hospicia redierunt et in crastino die viz. in festo Ieronimi apud Westmonasterium fuerat ista renunciacio coram omnibus dominis tam spiritualibus quam temporalibus primo in Latinis verbis secundo in Anglicis [perlecta]. Et statim ut fuerat interrogatum a stantibus et populo tunc ibidem presentibus primo viz. ab archiepiscopo Cantuar' cui racione dignitatis et prerogative ecclesie sue Cantuar' metropolitece in hac parte competit primam vocem habere inter ceteros prelatos et proceres regni, si pro eorum interesse et utilitate regni vellent renunciacionem eamdem et cessionem admittere, cui idem archiepiscopus et quam plures alii domini affirmant illam renunciacionem et cessionem regno fore utile et expediens. Sed quidam alii opinantur quod ista renunciacio licet fuerat ore regio proclamata verumtamen dummodo fuerat in carceribus a libertate proprie voluntatis impeditus non penitus agnoscitur an huius resignacio fuerat ex plenaria et sinsera cordis affectione aut mortis timore incussus omnia facere et dicere

> que libenter detentores offerebant. Et cum regia dignitas maiorem privilegii libertatem quam alii inferiores persone, postulat ex racione hinc est quod ipse idem rex quemadmodum alii persone tamen inferiores poterint publice, sic ipse in persona propria coram iudice aut sui imperii populo iuxta sui intencionis arbitrium suam plenariam voluntatem intimare quia sic nostra regni statuta et privilegia vendicant discernendum pro omni suspicione evitanda. Tamen pro huiusmodi suspicione tollenda alia pars adversa allegebat plura crimina et defectus per regem perpetrata in maximum dedecus et detrimentum toto regno. [A summary of the "Articles" against Richard follows.]

Royal MS. 13, C. 1, f. 122, excerpt B. A scored out passage.

> Sed aliqui affirmant absentem et impeditum a libertate sui iuris quod equali libra esset omnibus regni incolis concedenda hoc ab ipso rege non fore deneganda viz. pro declaracione sue voluntatis in persona propria coram regni statibus et plebeis saltem in parliamento compareret quia quamvis ista renunciacio fuerat sine reclamacione oretenus prununciata tamen quia in carcerali tedio tentus poterit a quibusdam personis estimari quod cicius timore quam sincera cordis intencione omnia ista fecit attamen cum maior numerus dominorum et eciam comitatum p[ro] tunc favebant duci Lancastrie affirmabant prefatam resignacionem fore et esse utile et expediens unde pro maiori suspicione tollenda alligabant plura crimina per dictum regem in magnum detrimentium proceribus regni et eciam omni communitati perpetrata.

At first glance comparison of the three passages suggests that we have before us an excised portion of the Parliament Roll, but the wording and the repetition in two forms make it impossible to put forward so simple an explanation. We have either two passages from the same author, or else an excerpt from some other source has been copied in as an afterthought. Further on in the Royal manuscript the same trick of writing in a second or even a third and fourth passage on the same subject recurs.[1] We have three versions of the burning of Richard Wick and two of the death of the Duchess of Clarence: they are not verbally identical and in each case the information varies slightly. There are also three accounts of the disgrace of the Duchess of Gloucester; they differ considerably in detail and in treatment: two are cautiously worded but the third and most severe mentions her death sixteen years later at Flint. Finally there are four accounts of events overseas in 1441-43, which deal with the appointment of Somerset as Captain-General in France over the head of the Duke of York. This appointment was a provoking cause of the Wars of the Roses, and it is significant that two variants are Lancastrian and two Yorkist in sympathy. In short, differences in matter, style and point of view make it impossible to believe that they were all composed by the same writer, and we may reasonably conclude that they are extracts from various sources collected by the compiler. This hypothesis coincides with what we know of William Worcester from whose papers the manuscript was probably put together.[1] His *Itinerarium* shows that he was a disorderly and tireless copyist of chronicles; he refers to no less than ten, more than half of which have not been traced.[2] We conclude, therefore, that we have excerpts from two chronicles, one from an unknown source and the other from an earlier portion of that printed by Giles. To estimate their historical value it is necessary to come to at least a tentative conclusion as to their date, provenance, and authorship.

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[1] The later variants are not in Giles' edition, but are printed by Kingsford, *English Historical Literature*, pp. 339-41, as "Brief Notes, 1441-43."

Analysis of *Giles' Chronicle*, to which excerpt A belongs, brings out some puzzling facts. It breaks off abruptly with a reference to the Parliament of 1411, and its general treatment of Henry IV. and the Prince of Wales is that of a cautious contemporary, yet it cannot be earlier than 1421, as the marriage of the Duke of Clarence, who died in that year, is described as barren. Analysis of the subject matter shows that it has been made up from several sources. Down to 1402, Evesham is followed closely, though with interesting emendations or omissions and the interpolation of a long complaint of fortune, ascribed to W. Feruby. References to events in London are often in substance the same as those in the *London Chronicles*, *Gregory's Chronicle*, and *Davies' Chronicle;* Kingsford therefore concluded that they had a common original, the work of a London writer. But this London source and Evesham are only a part—and the most commonplace part—of the compilation. It has two more remarkable characteristics; one the steady citation of official documents, the other special knowledge of events in the North. The parliament or statute rolls are used for six out of the nine parliaments of Henry IV;[1] sometimes the text is copied verbatim, sometimes it is neatly contracted. Only a clerk in the Chancery could have had access so continuously to official records. For the North we have a unique explanation of Hotspur's reason for revolt, the sole text of the tripartite convention between Northumberland, Glendower, and Mortimer, and an account, with a good deal of local detail, of Archbishop Scrope's execution. If the writer was a Chancery clerk he must have had a strong northern connexion.

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[1] British Museum Catalogue of Royal MSS. describes the whole volume as "Historical Collections made, wholly or in part by William Worcester (+ 1482 ?), secretary to Sir John Fastolf."

[2] Chronicles of Wells, friars of Norwich, S. John's Bristol, S. Thomas' Bristol, Dominicans of Thetford and Augustinians of Yarmouth; excerpts from the *Brut:* notes from Gildas, Giraldus Cambrensis and Marianus Scotus. See *Itinerarium*, ed. Jas. Nasmyth, Cambridge, 1778.

The chronicle is, in fact, a patchwork, rather clumsily cobbled together, but at the same time the whole work bears the stamp of a clearly defined personality. The writer has a guarded but steady sympathy for Richard II. He cuts out the blackest charges in Evesham and, writing of the starvation of the heir to the Scottish throne, he slips in *quemadmodum Anglici Ricardum regem suum interemerunt*. His attitude to Henry IV. is correct but grudging. He omits Evesham's praise of him as *pius et misericors et generosus* and emphasises the disasters of the Welsh campaigns. Though careful to preserve the forms of loyal speech, his sympathies were plainly with the northern rebels. He gives a shrewd and convincing picture of Thomas Percy as *causa principalis* of the battle of Shrewsbury, sets out Archbishop Scrope's manifesto with obvious satisfaction and skilfully tells the story of his execution as the passion of a saint. He names no northern lord, not even Westmoreland or Fitzhugh, as having a share in the *execrabile opus*. We have the impression of a man who had friends on both sides or whose personal opinions ran counter to his professional interests.

Now the only personal excursus in the chronicle is a long lament on the death of Richard, beginning *de hujus mundi fortuna et mutatione subita scribit W. Feruby in hunc modum*. Kingsford identifies this Feruby with the William Feriby who was taken prisoner at Conway and executed immediately after the Holland rising early in 1400; as he was certainly dead before Richard's death was announced he cannot have written the lament. But the Feribys were a great Yorkshire family of officials, connected with, if not related to the Thoresby-Ravenser-Waltham clan, and several of them at this time were called William.[1] A William Feriby, notary public, went to the Tower with the commission to hear Richard's renunciation; he was probably the William Feriby who was the Chancellor of the Prince of Wales in 1403 and master of S. Leonard's Hospital, York, from 1409 to 1415.[2] S. Leonard's Hospital was a typical Chancery benefice, held throughout the fourteenth century by king's clerks, like Gilbert de Stapleton and Richard de Ravenser. It is tempting to find in this William Feriby the Chancery clerk of northern connexions who wrote *Giles' Chronicle*, especially as William Worcester in his *Annales* has a reference to *Chronicam Wi. Feriby* which he borrowed from the Bishop of Ely.[3] But this Feriby died in 1415, six years before the earliest date when *Giles' Chronicle* can have been written. He cannot have been the author, but he may have collected the official documents and excerpts from the Parliament Roll which, with his lament, were used by someone who had access to his material. It is possible that excerpt B may come from a lost chronicle begun by William Feriby, afterwards carried on to Henry VI.'s reign by someone who wrote certain of the additions to *Giles' Chronicles* printed by Kingsford.

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[1] 1399. Giles, pp. 3-7, Rot. Parl. III., 452, 453. 1401. Giles, pp. 22-23, Stat. 2, Hen. IV., Cap. XV. 1402. Giles, pp. 34-35, Rot. Parl. III., 487. 1404, Giles, pp. 35-36, 36-39, Rot. Parl. III., 526-527, 528, 1406. Giles, pp. 49-52, Rot. Parl. III., 571-572, 574-576. 1411. Giles p. 63, Rot. Parl. III., 658.

Assuming that Feriby collected much of the material we may hazard a suggestion that the author was one of his successors at S. Leonard's. Robert Fitzhugh, master from 1415 to 1431 was a northern clerk, the son of Henry V.'s chamberlain, the nephew of Archbishop Scrope, and the first cousin of Sir William Plumpton, executed in 1405. His sympathies may well have been divided between his uncle, the rebel and martyr, and his father who tricked him into surrender,[1] but there is nothing else in his career to carry the suggestion of his authorship further. The next master of S. Leonard's was William Scrope (1431 to 1456), another nephew of Archbishop Scrope, this time on the father's side.[2] He was king's clerk at the time of his appointment and held several other preferments in the North with a papal indulgence because "by both parents he is of a race of barons."[3] Raine suggests that he resigned because "the wish to suppress the honours that were paid to Archbishop Scrope would destroy William Scrope's chance of holding preferment in York Minster."[4] He had no other preferment before his death in 1463. It is remarkable that first one and then another nephew of the archbishop should have succeeded Feriby at S. Leonard's; either of them may have worked up his material into the form in which we find it in the Royal manuscript.

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[1] Tout, *Chapters in Mediæval Administrative History*, vol. iii., pp. 215-216.

[2] Rot. Parl. III., 416; Nicolas, *Proceedings of Privy Council*, I., 206; *C.P.R.*, 1408-13, p. 88, 1413-16, p. 283. We should like to thank Professor A. Hamilton Thompson for his help in unravelling the intricacies of the Feriby family, a subject which is peculiarly his own.

[3] Published in *Letters and Papers illustrative of the wars of the English in France*, ed. Joseph Stevenson, 1864. The note, sub anno 1446, Vol. II., Part II., p. 764, is as follows: "Nota folia duo immediate praecedentia bene, et latus sequens, et pro temporibus regis Ricardi Secundi, Henrici etiam V et Henrici regis VI nota chronicam Wi. Feriby, ut in libro domini Nicholai, prioris Sanctae Margaretae de Lyne, quem accomodavit domino meo Johanni Alkok, episcopo Eliensi. Nota etiam chronica Ranulphi monachi Cistercensis" (*sic*).

If we accept either of these Scropes as having a share in putting together Feriby's material, we have a clue to the way in which the manuscript came into the hands of William Worcester. Sir John Fastolf, Worcester's patron, was the stepfather of Stephen Scrope, the "Master Stephen" of the Paston letters. He was the son of another Stephen Scrope, who was taken prisoner with the other Feriby at Conway, in 1399, and his uncle was the Earl of Wiltshire, beheaded at Bristol in the same year. His mother, the heiress of Castlecombe, married Fastolf in 1409, and he spent much of his life at Caistor where Worcester was secretary. Fastolf treated his stepson badly and sold his wardship to Sir William Gascoigne: "thorugh the wiche sale," Stephen writes, "I took sekenesses that kept me a XII or XIII yere swyng: whereby I am disfigured in my persone and shall be whilest I lyve. . . ."[1] He lived a sickly, studious life, translating from Christine de Pisan *The Boke of Knyghthode*; *The Boke of Noblesse*, also from Christine, was probably translated by him in collaboration with Worcester.[2] In Worcester, who "said that he wold be as glad and as feyn of a good boke of Frensh or of poetre as my Mastr Fastolf wold be to purchase a faire manoir,"[3] he must have found a congenial companion, and it is possible that he possessed or procured for his friend the chronicle which tells so much of his family's history and which may have been put together by one of his cousins of Masham.

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[1] *Annales*, 407: *Historians of Church of York*, III., 289. Fitzhugh was afterwards bishop of London, 1431-1436.

[2] See Scrope pedigree, Note A, below p. 156.

[3] *C.P.R.*, p. 181, 1431: *Cal. Papal Letters*, 1417-31, pp. 338-339.

[4] *Testamenta Eboracensia*, Vol. III., p. 36. Raine cites from Torre MS. 224 his epitaph in York Minster: "Hic jacet Magister Willelmus le Scrope, Archidiaconus Dunelm,' et Residentarius in ecclesiis collegiatis beate Johannis Beverlac' et Sancti Wilfridi Rypon, qui obiit xii° die mensis Mai anno domini M.cccc.lxiii, cuius anime propitietur deus."

Thus several converging lines of evidence, no one of which we can defend as strong in itself, leads us to the opinion that excerpts A and B are both derived from material collected by the Chancery clerk William Feriby, some of which was later worked up into *Giles' Chronicle* by a master of S. Leonard's York. We are therefore inclined to treat the accounts of the deposition parliament as having the value of contemporary evidence. It is even possible that Feriby was an eye-witness. Confirmation of the whole story comes from the much-disputed passage in the *Traison* where the bishop of Carlisle spoke in Richard's defence:—

> My lords, consider well before you give judgment upon what my lord the Duke has set forth, for I maintain that there is not one present who is competent and fit to judge such a sovereign as my lord the King whom we have acknowledged our (liege) lord for the space of twenty years and more, and I will give you my reasons; there never was, nor is in this world, any false traitor nor wicked murderer, who, if he be taken prisoner by the hands of justice, is not, at the least, brought before the judge to hear his sentence. My lords, you have well and truly heard the accusation that my lord the Duke has made against King Richard; and it appears to me that you are about to give judgment, and to condemn King Richard, without hearing what he has to answer, or even his being present.[4] . . .

[1] G. P. Scrope, *History of the Manor and Barony of Castle Combe*, p. 274.

[2] *The Epistle of Othea to Hector or the Boke of Knyghthode*, ed. G. F. Warner, Roxburghe Club, 1904.

[3] *Paston Letters*, ed. Gairdner, I., p. 431.

[4] *Traison*, pp. 221-222.

The speech is in content almost identical with our excerpts, but the *Traison* places it not on September 30, but on the following day, when Parliament did not meet. The *Eulogium* preserves the tradition of the bishop's presence at the deposition scene,[1] and it is much more probable that he made his protest then instead of waiting until after the coronation. The same charge of deposition by coercion and without a fair trial was brought against Henry again and again by the northern rebels,[2] and it was made as early as 1402 to the king himself. Certain friars were accused of plotting treason. Their leader, Robert Frisby, warden of the convent at Leicester, maintained before Henry in the Tower that Richard was "veray king" of England. "The king saide, 'He resigned.' The maister ansuerde, 'He resigned ayens his wil in prison, the whiche is nought in the lawe. . . . He wolde not have resigned . . . yf he hadde be at his freedoum; and a resignacion maad in prisoun is not fre . . .' " The juries of London and Holbourne twice refused to convict these friars, and they were finally sentenced to death on the verdict of jurors from the villages of Islington and Highgate.[3]

Holinshed knew the *Traison* through Hall, and from him Shakespeare drew the material for the speech he put into the mouth of Carlisle at the deposition parliament:

> "What subject can give sentence on his king?
> And who sits here that is not Richard's subject?
> Thieves are not judged but they are by to hear,
> Although apparent guilt be seen in them;
> And shall the figure of God's majesty,
> His captain, steward, deputy-elect,
> Anointed, crowned, planted many years,
> Be judged by subject and inferior breath,
> And he himself not present . . . "

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[1] *Eulogium*, III., 383, Bolingbroke sat in his father's place "iuxta episcopum Carleoli." The position cannot be correct as the spiritual and temporal peers already sat on opposite sides. This is illustrated in the miniature of the deposition scene, the earliest picture of a parliamentary session, B.M. Harl. MS. 1319, reproduced in *Archæologia* XX., plate XVI.

[2] *E.g.*, the manifesto ascribed to Archbishop Scrope, but probably issued by Northumberland in 1407, *Historians of Church of York*, II. 297; Hardyng, 349, says Northumberland told him that Richard made resignation "under dures of prison in the Toure of London in fere of his life." *Cf.* Hotspur's defiance before Shrewsbury, *ibid.*, pp. 351 ff.

[3] *Davies Chronicle*, pp. 25-26; *Eulogium*, pp. 393-394; *C.C.R.*, June 1, 1402, p. 528.

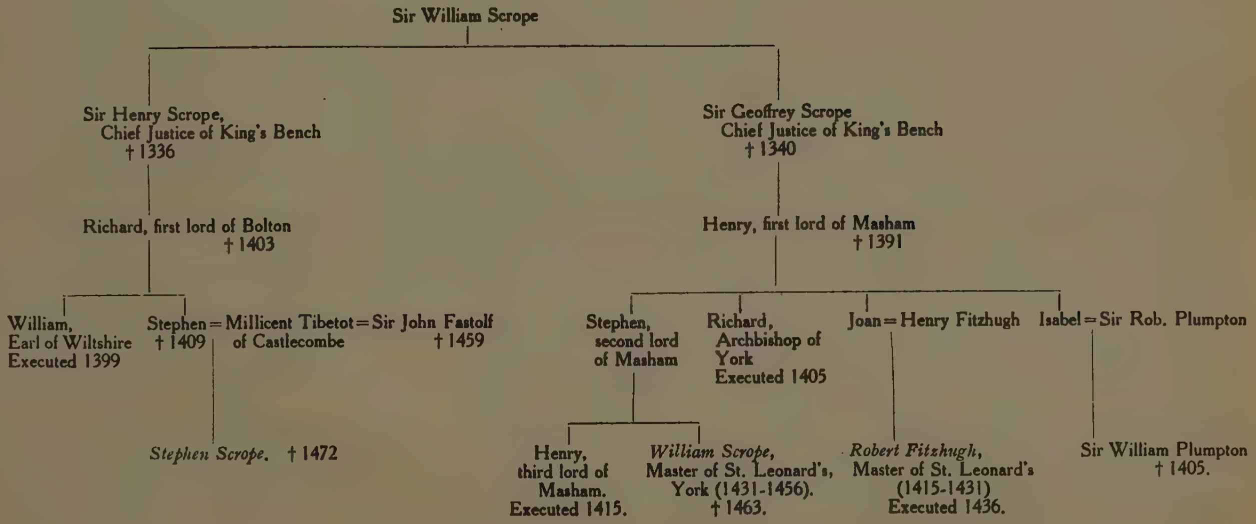
These lines are like a poet's echo, not only of the *Traison*, but of the clumsy Latin of the Royal manuscript. They are in harmony with the stiff legalism of the age and are confirmed by a long tradition of anti-Lancastrian disaffection. The first protest against the usurpation of Henry of Lancaster was made in the deposition parliament; the procedure of deposition as well as the act itself was a cause of the "disorder, horror, fear, and mutiny" of the fifteenth century.

Thus collation of the official story of Richard's deposition with other sources of the early fifteenth century has led us to conclude that on three points the Parliament Roll has either distorted or suppressed the truth. The free resignation at Conway and the account of Richard's cheerful bearing in the Tower are soothing falsehoods which probably no one at the time believed or was expected to believe; silence about Richard's demand to confront Parliament and about a public protest on his behalf are deliberate suppressions of the truth. The statement in the Royal manuscript that the articles of deposition were drawn up as a substitute for the trial of Richard draws attention to their hasty composition and *ex parte* character. But it is on these articles that Stubbs and other constitutional historians have based their discussion of Richard's tyranny and his theory of absolutism. If, as we think, the authority of the Parliament Roll has been shaken, it will be necessary to go over all the ground again and to treat the official story of the revolution as carrying no more weight than any other tainted and partisan contemporary evidence.

NOTE A.

SCROPE PEDIGREE.

[N. H. Nicholas. Scrope and Grosvenor Controversy. Vol. II.]


Sir William Scrope
Sir Henry Scrope, Chief Justice of King's Bench † 1336
Sir Geoffrey Scrope Chief Justice of King's Bench † 1340
Richard, first lord of Bolton † 1403
Henry, first lord of Masham † 1391
William, Earl of Wiltshire Executed 1399
Stephen = Millicent Tibetot = Sir John Fastolf
† 1409
of Castlecombe
† 1459
Stephen, second lord of Masham
Richard, Archbishop of York Executed 1405
Joan = Henry Fitzhugh
Isabel = Sir Rob. Plumpton
Stephen Scrope. † 1472
Henry, third lord of Masham. Executed 1415.
William Scrope, Master of St. Leonard's, York (1431-1456). † 1463.
Robert Fitzhugh, Master of St. Leonard's (1415-1431) Executed 1436.
Sir William Plumpton † 1405.

NOTE B.

ANOTHER DEPOSITION OF RICHARD II?

Harleian MS. 3600.[1]

> f. 232v. Hic intercerere disposui quod in tempore suo pretermissum fuit. Nam cum Thomas Wodstok comes de Bokyngham,[2] comes de Arundel, comes Warwyc' cum ceteris magnatibus consurrexissent adversus quosdam consiliarios regis et Symonem de Burlay decapitassent ac ducem Hibernie apud Ratcotebrige profugassent et Thomam de Molenewes cum aliis multis ibidem occidissent, adierunt regem Ricardum et eum de solio regali deposuerunt et sic per triduum mansit discoronatus; sed ill (is) de successione concertantibus, communibus volentibus exaltari in regem Thomam Wodstok sed e contra Henrico duce Herfordie[3] se de seniori fratre progenitum protestante ac per hoc regem se fore debere vendicante, videntes magnates et timentes ne illi duo inter se discordarent et illi quasi proditores notarentur concilium iniunt et regem Ricardum iterato recoronant ammoventes omnes familiares suos et consiliarios a maiori usque ad minimum, eidem alios assignantes ad quorum concilium rex regeretur, sed qualiter rex se de hiis vindicaverit supra patet.

At first sight this story of a deposition of Richard II. seems preposterous and directly counter to all contemporary evidence. A closer examination of the authorities shows that, while there is no direct confirmation of the deposition itself, there was one short period when it might have taken place.[4] After the defeat at Radcote Bridge (December 20), Richard shut himself up in the Tower. He knew that his plight was desperate, as by allowing de Vere to bring an army from Chester and by plotting with the Londoners he had broken the protection, ratified on oath, which he had issued to the appellants on November 18. By December 27 the army of the appellants was encamped at Clerkenwell, and the leaders had won over the citizens of London. The king was blockaded in the Tower and the Thames was guarded to prevent his escape by water. A parley was arranged by Archbishop Courtenay and Northumberland. Taking elaborate precautions against treachery, the appellants entered the Tower with 500 men and the gates were closed and guarded by their supporters. The uproar in the inner ward was so great that the king and the leaders withdrew into the chapel for quiet. What happened at the interview is obscure. Knighton and Favent represent Richard as agreeing at once to all that was demanded of him. Walsingham says that he promised in tears and confusion to hold a council at Westminster on the following day; the same evening he changed his mind, but was forced to yield by the threat of the appellants *quod eligerent alium sibi Regem.*[1] The Anonymous of Westminster describes a much more prolonged crisis. The appellants spoke sternly to Richard, rehearsed his misdeeds and reminded him that *suum heredem fore indubie perfectae aetatis.*[2] Richard, *stupefactus*, swore to govern by their council, saving his crown and royal dignity. The barons then left him with a rough warning that if he wished to enjoy his crown and regality in the future he must keep faith with them.

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[1] See p. 145.

[2] Thomas of Woodstock had been Duke of Gloucester since 1385.

[3] Henry was still only Earl of Derby; he was not Duke of Hereford until 1397.

[4] The detailed chronicles for the period 1387-88 are Walsingham, Knighton, the Anonymous of Westminster, and the short account of the Merciless Parliament and events immediately preceding it by Favent, *Camden Miscellany*, Vol. XIV. Knighton is the least useful, except for official documents; Walsingham has a fair account of events in London; Westminster and Favent, one inclined to favour Richard and the other the official defence of the Appellants, are both of great value.

Unfortunately, authorities differ as to the date on which this interview was held. Knighton says December 27; Favent and Walsingham, December 28. The Anonymous of Westminster's chronology is confused at this point; he describes the whole of December 28 as spent in preliminary negotiations, implies that the interview took place on December 29 and then names December 30 as the actual day. On the whole the evidence suggests either December 28 or 29. The point is of crucial importance if we are to find three days of deposition. A council was held on January 1[3] at which new writs were issued for the coming parliament, and from that time onwards there can be no possible doubt that Richard was acknowledged as king by the appellants. If they ever deposed him, it must have been between December 28 or 29 and New Year's day. It is, perhaps, significant that there is not a single entry on the close or patent rolls bearing the dates of the last three days of December.

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[1] This Council did not meet until Jan. 1; Walsingham is running events together too quickly.

[2] The Earl of March, who was heir presumptive, was still a minor, and this ambiguous phrase may refer to Gloucester or to Derby.

[3] *C.C.R.*, 460; *Anon. Westminster*, 115.

Certain facts, which have not hitherto been emphasised, must also come under consideration. Gloucester's confession, exacted at Calais on the eve of his death (Sept. 8, 1397), contains some important admissions.[1] In spite of the circumstances of its drafting, the document has a convincing ring. The saving clause, the ambiguity of the wording at the crucial point and the poignant closing appeal for "compassion and pytee" show that it could not have been dictated by Rickhill or concocted after the murder. He acknowledged :—

> ". . . in that tyme (1387-8) that I came armed into my Lordes presence, and into his Palais, howsoever that I dede it for drede of my lyf, I knowleche for certain that I dede evyll, and azeyns his Regalie and his Estate. . . ."

He put forward as the final plea for mercy :

> ". . . It was never myn entent, ne my wyll, ne my thoght, for to do thynge that schuld have been distresse or harmyng azeyns the salvation of my lyege Loordys persone, as I wyll answer to for Godd at the day of Jugement. . . ."

He admitted :—

> ". . . that I among other communed for feer of my lyf to zyve up myn hommage to my Lord, I knowlech wel, that for certain that I among other communed and asked of certeins Clercs, whethir that we myght zyve up our homage for drede of our lyves, or non; and whethir that we assentyed therto for to do it, trewlich and by my trowth I ne have now none full mynde therof, bot I trowe rather ze than nay: Wherfor I submett me heygh and lowe evermore in his grace."

The crucial paragraph concerns the deposition of the king, and we give it in full, transcribed from a copy of the confession, sewn as a schedule to the Parliament Roll of 1397.[2]

> "Also in that I was in place ther it was communod and spoken in manere of deposail of my lyege loord trewly I knowlech̃ wel that we wer assented ther to for two dayes or thre and than we for to have done oure homage and our oothes and putt hym as heyly in his estate

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[1] *Rot. Parl.*, III., 379. *Cf. E.H.R.*, 1923, Vol. XXXVIII., pp. 249-251.

[2] The original sealed confession is attached to *Parl. and Council Proceedings (Chancery) Roll* 4.

> as ever he was bot for sothe ther I knolech that I dede untruly and unkyndely as to hym that is my lyege loord and hath bene so gode and kynd loord to me wherfor I beseche to hym naght wyth stondyng myn unkyndenesse I beseche hym evermore of his mercy and of his grace as lowly as any creature may beseche it unto his lyege loord." (Parliament Roll 61, m. 3, schedule.)

The avowal of armed coercion, the emphatic declaration that no personal injury to Richard was intended and the guarded references to renunciation of allegiance and to deposition bear out and carry further the story in the chronicles. In the deposition paragraph the phrase *We wer assented ther to for two dayes or thre* might be read as an independent confirmation of the Harleian manuscript.

The account of Gloucester and Derby contending over the succession also falls into line with what we know of the factions of the time. It is not always remembered that the five appellants belonged to two clearly marked parties. The original appeal, issued at Waltham Cross on November 14 and repeated before the king at Westminster on November 17, was in the names of Gloucester, Arundel, and Warwick. They were the recognised leaders of the baronial opposition and the muster of the army at Haringay was their work.[1] Derby and Nottingham, representing the Lancastrian faction, did not join them until de Vere's army was on the march. It was at this point that the project of deposition was first brought forward and opposed by Warwick, who may have held an intermediate position between the two groups. Furthermore, Knighton says that Richard detained Derby and Nottingham to sup with him after the interview in the Tower, and Walsingham tells the same story, omitting Nottingham. Later, Favent and Walsingham tell how Derby and Nottingham joined in the plea for Burley's life.[2] It may therefore be granted that, if there was a dispute about Richard's successor, it must have followed the lines indicated by the Harleian manuscript.

Certain proceedings in the Merciless Parliament are not incompatible with the story of a deposition. Business was begun by a solemn declaration by the appellants that they had never imagined or consented to the death of the king. Favent represents Gloucester as demanding, through Speaker Plessington, an opportunity to clear himself of the charge of treason. The Chancellor's reply to him is strangely worded: *Domine dux, ex quo oriundus excuteras de tam digna stirpe regali et ita proximus reperimini ei in linea collaterali non suspicabatur de vobis talia ymaginari.* The concluding scene of the parliamentary session is still more significant. After a solemn mass and sermon in Westminster Abbey, in the presence of the lords and commons, the king renewed his coronation oath and the lords spiritual and temporal *ea quae domino regi solebant in sua coronatione praestare cum omni subjectione ac grato animo sibi exhibuerunt.*[1] Favent explains this remarkable procedure by saying it was done partly because the king had taken the oath *in minori etate* and partly *propter cordium scrupulas et titubaciones tam penes regem quam penes proceres evellendas et evitandas. . . .*" It may be that the repetition of the coronation oath was itself the cause of a later legend of deposition. If this be so, it is remarkable that it should have dropped almost out of knowledge only to be discovered again in a form that fits neatly into place with other evidence. But if, as we think, the story be true, it is easy to understand that both Richard and his enemies—he for his prestige and they from fear—would combine to check its circulation and force it into oblivion.

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[1] *Rot. Parl.*, III., 248-249.

[2] *Ibid.*, 431. Gloucester was said to have admitted to Rickhill at Calais that *Le Roy parla a luy de Monsieur Simond de Burley, et le dit Duk respondi a Roy, et disoit a luy, que s'il voloit estre Roy covient estre perfourne et fait.*

NOTE C.

NEPHANDUS CULPEPER DE CANCIA NOMINATUS JAK STRAWE.

Jak Strawe is obviously a "masonic" name, like Piers Plowman, and it is possible that we have here a clue to the family and social standing of Wat Tyler. Culpeper or Colepepir is a well-known Kentish name; the family had estates on the Medway, where a fourteenth-century bridge crosses the river at Aylesford between Rochester and Maidstone. One Walter Colepepir died in 1326-27, seised of lands in Aylesford, East and West Farleigh and other villages on the Medway, both north and south of Maidstone (Hasted, *Kent*, III., 174). His descendants, Thomas and John, sat on various commissions in Kent in Richard II.'s reign ; a John Colepepir served Gaunt as constable of Pevensey Castle and master forester of Ashdown Chase (*Register*, 279, 701). An entry on the close rolls (*C.C.R.*, p. 778, 8 Feb., 1381), names a Walter Colepepere as witness, with John Colepepir of Farleigh, to a charter quit claiming the manor of Cobham. The patent roll at almost exactly the same time (*C.P.R.*, p. 629, 15 Feb., 1381), records the appointment of Walter Colepepere as one of nine commissioners appointed to survey all ports in the hundreds of Hoo, Shamele and Totyngtrowe, Kent, where galleys, barges or other vessels might enter, and to guard against invasion by repair and construction of piles and trenches. The hundred of Hoo lies north of Rochester in the dreary, almost empty peninsula between the Thames and the Medway ; it is opposite Canvey Island and the marsh villages of Fobbing and Corringham where the revolt in Essex began. No later reference to Walter Colepepere can be traced in the official records.

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[1] *Higden*, IX., 183; *Favent*, 24. *Cf.*, Harleian MS. *iterato recoronant.*

It is, perhaps, fanciful to connect this seemingly respectable Walter Colepepere with Wat Tyler, though the coincidence of his Christian name, the association of the Culpepper family with the district round Maidstone where Tyler first appeared and his own association with the district which could most easily communicate with the Essex rebels are remarkable enough to deserve attention. It should also be noted that the jurors of three Kentish hundreds later declared that Tyler was born in Essex ; this runs counter to all other evidence, and it may be that his connection with the no man's land opposite Fobbing was the cause of the confusion. According to the *Anonimalle Chronicle* a valet at Smithfield recognised Tyler as the greatest thief of Kent, and Froissart, who had some detailed knowledge of the revolt, describes how he was identified as a disbanded soldier by Sir John Newton, constable of Rochester Castle. The little we know of Tyler is not incompatible with the suggestion that he was an unruly cadet or hanger-on of the Culpepper family. The information might have come to Dieulacres through Matthew de Swettenham, a Cheshire yeoman of the king's chamber who was granted maintenance for life at the abbey in January, 1383 (*C.P.R.*, p. 418). If the suggestion is rejected, we are confronted with a

Culpepper leader of the rebels whose name does not appear in any narrative, indictment or pardon.

NOTE D.

THE CHESHIRE GUARD.

These squires have Cheshire names and their history can be traced in the entries on the close and patent rolls and in Reports 31 and 36 of the Deputy Keeper. Nearly all were officials in Cheshire and in 1397-98 they were drawn more closely to the king by special gifts and grants. John de Leigh del Bothes submitted to Henry at Shrewsbury (*Evesham* p. 154; Report 36, p. 292) and John Downe a fortnight later in Cheshire (Report 36, p. 154). Henry evidently tried to win the Guard over to his side. In his first Parliament the Commons petitioned that the great sums of gold and silver delivered by Richard to "Esquiers Maestres del Wache de Chestreshire" should be repaid and he replied that they could not make repayment, but would serve him for a certain time at their own expense (Oct. 1399, *Rol. Parl.* III., 439). Bostock, Beston, Cholmondeley, Halford and Leigh probably took part in the disturbances in Cheshire early in 1400, as they were exempted from a general pardon in May of that year (*C.P.R.* 286). Cholmondeley drops out of the records at this point. All the others, except Davenport and including Downe, were out with Hotspur in 1403 and either were killed at Shrewsbury or forfeited their estates.

Peter or Perkin de Leigh was not an officer in the Cheshire Guard, but he was the kinsman of one of them and was evidently regarded as the leader of the king's party in the county. His estates lay round Macclesfield, not far from Dieulacres (Ormerod, *Cheshire*, III., 671 ff.), and he held various important appointments in the Palatinate. He was bailiff of the manor of Macclesfield in 1382 (Report 36, p. 286) and almost until the end of the reign justice in eyre for Macclesfield. His great prestige in the county and with the *vernaculos* of the Guard is, illustrated by a passage from the Kenilworth Chronicle compiled by John Streeche (*Additional MS.* 35295):

> f. 260. Verumtamen Rex Ricardus anno regni sui XIX^{o}. proceres et valectos de comitatu Cestrie sibi sic adstiuit [*sic*] et ut confidentissimos et carissimos in custodiam sui corporis deputauit pre omnibus aliis regni

> sui per vigilias diurnas atque nocturnas ita ut sub eorum tutela securius ac quiescius ut putauit ubique respiraret: quos sue salutis conseruatores veresimiliter existimauit. Hii namque in curia regis Ricardi pre ceteris tantum favebantur ita quod nullus officiarius ausus fuerat quod petebant in aliquo denegare. Et in tantam familiaritatem domino regi annectebantur ut eidem in materna lingua audacter confabularentur "Dycun, slep sicury quile we wake, and dreed nouzt quile we lyve sestow: ffor zif thow haddest weddet Perkyn douzter of Lye thow mun well halde a love day with any man in Chester schire in ffaith."[1] Ecce quomodo nimia familiaritas parit contemptum maxime in populo stulto et insipienti.

A local tradition supporting the Dieulacres attitude to his death and opposing that of Usk (p. 27) is preserved in the church of S. Michael, Macclesfield. A brass in the Leigh Chapel is inscribed :—

Here lyeth the bodie of Perkin a Leigh
That for King Richard the dethe did die,
    Betrayed for righteousnesse;
And the bones of Sr Peers his sonne,
That with King Henry the Fifth did wonne,
    In Paris.[2]

CHRONICLE OF DIEULACRES ABBEY, 1381-1403.

GRAY'S INN MS. NO. 9.

[*f. 143.*] Anno[3] domini millesimo CCC^{mo} LXXXI^{o} plebani Cancie Estsex' et aliarum parcium regni vi oppressi inter quos specialiter nominabant sibi duces magna excitacione ut dictum est cuiusdam sacerdotis nephandi Iohannis B., Iak Strawe,[4] Per Plowman et ceteri nitentes iura et consuetudines regni destruere inter quos principaliter bondagium affectantes nativos omni iugo servitutis exui liberos esse ut eorum domini. Quod quidem facturi timor multitudinis coadunati ultra modum circa festum corporis Christi[5] LX milia communium inter vicum dictum le Millesende et turrim London' convenerunt. Rex Ricardus petita coactus concessit ne rabies iniquorum plurimos procerum et ministrorum legis deleret. Sane dicti satellites per ante

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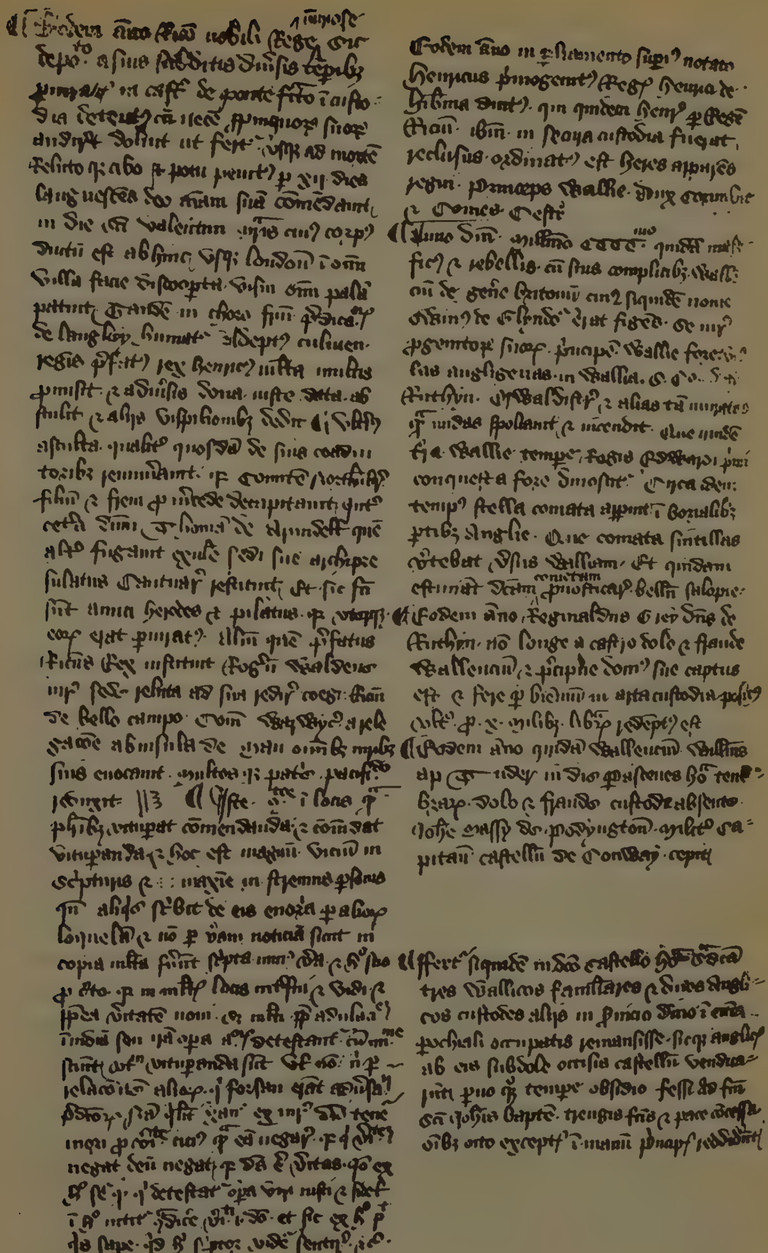
[1] Cf. *Traison*, p. 293, note 1.

[2] D. and S. Lysons, *Magna Britannia*, 1810, p. 728.

[3] The editors would like to express their warmest thanks to the Benchers of Gray's Inn, and to Lord Merrivale, the Master of the Library, for granting the fullest opportunities to examine the MSS. of the Inn, and for permission to print this extract from MS. No. 9.

[4] See note B, pp. 161-3.

[5] 13 June.



GRAY'S INN MS. NO. 9, FOL. 145^{v}.

Size of original 12½ × 8¼ inches.

Symonem de Sudbury archiepiscopum Cantuariensem et cancellarium domini regis fratrem Robertum Hales priorem de Clerkenwell cum nonnullis aliis extra turrim London' decapitabant verumptamen per ante multos senescallos iureperitos et ballivos combustis rotulis libris statutorum et extractibus cur[ie] ubique inventis interfecerunt. Interim ille nephandus Culpeper de Cancia nominatus Jak Strawe nulla reverencia regi facta nec capucium deposuit regem minatur bulla regia optata confirmari quod pre timore multitudinis licet invitus concessit. Erat enim cum rege nobilis civis London' Willelmus Walworthe intuens dictum maleficum dominum regem sic inquietare extracto cultello coram rege eum interfecit. Ceteris vero rex parcens terga vertendo sparsim fugerunt.

Verumptamen Iohannes de Gaunt tunc dux Lancastrie ea tempestate formidine communium insurgencium in Scociam fugam tulit et ibidem latuit. Et cum sedata [*Col. 2*] fuisset tumultuacio ad suas partes reversus licet maneria diversa cum manerio suo de Saveye London' rebelles funditus evertissent culpam ut dictum est condonando pro eorum delictis a rege veniam impetravit.[1]

Anno domini etc. LXXXII° terre motus factus est universalis per totam Angliam feria iiiiª[2] ebdomada Pentecostes immediate post horam nonam.

Hoc anno venit generalis absolucio a summo pontifice Urbano VI° de pena et culpa omnibus qui sua largirent vel in propria persona venirent in obsequium dicti patris contra scismaticos adherentes Roberto xii apostolorum Clementis vocati Antipapa. Quo anno multi ecclesiastici omnium statuum religionum cum proceribus et valentibus mense Aprilis[3] Flandriam navigaverunt Inter quos capitaneus et dux ex auctoritate pape dominus Henricus Spencer episcopus Norwicensis erat. Erant autem Willelmus Elmeham et Willelmus Faryngton milites constabularius et marescallus. Fuerunt eciam in dicto exercitu strenui milites Hugo de Calverley, Thomas Fog[es] Willelmus Bruyz[1] cum multis aliis quasi duces et propugnatores. Ceperunt villam de Gravenynge et Dunkirke occisis L^{a} milibus Flandrensium mediante villa de Gaunt Iprum obsiderunt, multa spolia per Anglicos in naves collecta. Sed episcopus bona cum navibus fecit concremare ne naviganti regi Francie cum magna classe cederent. Qui accepit villam de Burbrigge ab Anglicis preoccupatam sub condicione quod sani cum suis abscederent : sicque perempto proposito paucis Anglis perditis vacui ad sua remearunt.

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[1] This statement may be connected with a conspiracy for a second revolt in Kent which came to a head on 30 September, 1381. A conspirator who turned informer said that pilgrims coming to Canterbury *extra patriam del north* spread the rumour that Lancaster had emancipated all his *nativos* throughout England: the conspirators agreed, if the story was true, to make the duke their lord and king (*Coram Rege Rolls*, 5 *Ric. II.*, *Kent Arch. Soc.*, vol iv., 1861.)

[2] Wednesday, 28 May. *Recte* 21 May.

[3] The Norwich expedition did not set sail until 17 May (*Polychronicon*, ix. 18).

Anno domini etc. LXXXVII^{o} reperti sunt quidam vocati proditores London' inter quos Nicholaus Brembhull et [*f. 143^{v}.*] Symon Bureley milites decapitantur quamvis iniuste quia tenuerunt cum domino suo rege iusto unde postea multe tribulaciones iustorum etc. Preterea repertus est Iohannes Tresilyan miles et iusticiarius per dominum Thomam ducem Glovernie qui in habitu heremitis diu latuit. Hic vero affilatam sibi barbam fecerat ut dictum fuerit et glutinnie secretissime contextam capite est plexus.[2]

Hoc anno suscitata fuit magna distensio inter innocentem regem Ricardum et coherentes sibi ex una parte et Thomam ducem Glovernie et alios multos ex malicia confederatos ex orientalibus et diversis partibus regni coadunatos ex altera ob causam Roberti Veer comitis Oxonie qui uxorem suam filiam Isabelle sororis dicti ducis expellebat et favente altera parte aliam extraneam de Boemia ancillam Anne regine et patriotam nomine Launchecrone[3] apud Cestriam sibi copulavit propter quod factum dictus dux cum nonnullis aliis et manu forti orientalium in die sancti Thome apostoli[4] anno supradicto insultavit dictum comitem cum sua comitiva versus London' regi properantem qui assidens bonum equum per aquam Tamysie aufugit ab eis et sic eorum minas viriliter evasit Domino favente.

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[1] William Bruyz may have come from Bruera or Churton Heath, 8 miles S.E. of Chester and 10 miles W. of Calverley Hall. Thomas Fog [Fogg, Foger] was a Kentish knight who represented the county in the parliaments of 1378-84 inclusive (*Cal. Close Rolls*, pp. 221, 497 ; 107, 291, 414, 600).

[2] *Cf. Camden Miscellany*, xiv. 17.

[3] Agnes Lancecrona, damsel of the queen's chamber, was abducted for de Vere by John Banastre of Faringdon in Lancashire and William Stanley of the Wirral, Cheshire (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1389-92, p. 20). There is no evidence for the divorce of de Vere's wife, Philippa de Coucy, granddaughter of Edward III. ; the Westminster chronicler (*Polychronicon*, ix., p. 95) describes the relationship with Lancecrona as *in coniugem nefarie*. *Cf.* Walsingham, *Hist. Anglic.*, ii., p. 160. The fact that de Vere brought her to Chester is new.

[4] 21 December, *recte* 20 December.

Preterea iusticiarius Cestrie Thomas Molyneres[1] qui sepius habuit in mandatis tam per brevia regia quam per secretas litteras anulo regio signatas dictum comitem regi securius conducere ibidem capitur cum multis aliis et per Thomam de Mortuo Mari per letale vulnus in capite obiit. Ceteri vero occidentales spoliati nudi quoque dimissi fugerunt. Que arestacio facta fuit apud Radecotebrugge ubi coadiutores fuerunt dicto duci Glovernie Henricus dux Herford, Thomas comes Warwyc', [*Col.* 2] Ricardus comes Arundell et Thomas Mowbray comes de Notyngham vel dux Norfolch et alii cum predictis pro muneribus confederatis. Sed absurdum est servum vel subditum contra suum dominum esse rebellem. Sed quia nullum malum erit impunitum deus cor regis illustravit ut predictos rebelles quodammodo puniret unde secrete in aurora diei anno domini M° CCC^mo^ XCV^to^[2] venit iste iustus rex cum suis familiaribus ad manerium Thome ducis Glovernie in Essex Plasshee dictum et arestavit eum et Calisie misit incarcerandum et ibidem obiit qua morte deus scit, iusto rege non consenciente quamvis multi nephandi et filii mendacii ex malicia propria vel ex suggestione diabolica regem innocentem de morte et relegacione dictorum dominorum maliciose accusarunt. Sed origo istius materie imposterum exquisite et plane scietur quis fuit causa dictorum mortis et exulii. Insuper comes Warwyc' exulavit in insulam de Man atque alii diversimode diversis custodiis custodiri relegantur.

Anno domini millesimo CCC^mo^ XC° VI°[3] una magna aula nova facta fuit apud Westmonasterium in qua iudicatus est Ricardus comes Arundell per Iohannem ducem Lancastrie ut caput plecteretur; qui sepultus est London' in choro fratrum Augustiniorum. Ventilabatur fama inter vulgares caput corpori redintegrari ob quam causam in assistencia ducis Surrye existimatur iussu regis quod minime verum fuit quia Iohannes dux Lancastrie ivit inter corpus et suum caput iterum una cum capite dicte sepulture traditur.[1] Traditur de istis tribus scilicet Thoma Glovernie duce, Thoma comite Warwyc' et Ricardo comite Arundell' quidam sic ait

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[1] *Cf.* Walsingham, *Hist. Anglic.*, II., p. 168. Thomas Molyneux was deputy justice of Chester, 1381-87 (*Deputy Keeper's Reports*, 31, pp. 347, 441). Thomas Mortimer was appealed of treason with Gloucester, Arundel and Warwick in 1397 (*Rot. Parl.*, III., p. 351), no doubt for his conduct in 1387-88. Adam of Usk (p. 19) says he was the uncle of the Earl of March, but as his name does not appear in Mortimer pedigrees he was probably illegitimate (*ibid.*, p. 159, note). The Westminster Chronicler (*Polychronicon*, IX., p. 113) states that Mortimer slew Molyneux during the parley at Witney.

[2] *Recte* 1397.

[3] *Recte* 1397.

Nunc vulpis cauda vigila dum volat alauda
Ne rapidus pecus simul rapietur et equus

Hoc de duce dicebatur qui caudam vulpis[2] [*f. 144*] in lancea ferre solebat. "Rapidus pecus" est ursus quem armigeri Warwyc' gestare consueverunt. "Equum" vero generosi comitis Arundell deferunt.

Alius loquitur de punicione regis et nescit quid dicit quia manifeste mendacia scripcit et hoc evidenter patebit alias cum deo placebit quia scriptura dicit "quem diligo castigo." Et Bridlinton dicit,

Et castigabit in mundo quem decorabit.

Anno domini millesimo CCC^mo^ XC° VII°[3] anno videlicet regis Ricardi secundi XX° fuit suscitata magna briga inter Henricum ducem Herford et Thomam Mowbray ducem Northfolch ob quibusdam consiliis inter eos motis et cum palam fierent a dicto Thoma negatis unde per dictum Henricum appellatur ad duellum unde apud Covyntr' in die sancte Eufemie virginis[4] cum duellare cepissent rex autem pacem statim proclamabat et sine cede dimissi abcesserunt. Et data fuit eis sentencia videlicet ut Henricus dux exul esset ab Anglia X annis, alter vero Thomas imperpetuum. Postea in die translacionis sancti Edwardi Confessoris[5] supradictus Henricus comitantibus secum paucis transfretavit in Franciam cum litteris regalibus regi Francie deprecatoriis cuius filiam Isabellam mortua Anna prima uxore rex Ricardus desponsavit.

Eodem anno circa festum Purificacionis Beate Marie[6] mortuo Iohanne duce Lancastrie patre dicti Henrici et sepulto Leycestr' in collegio dicto le Newerke quod fundavit bone memorie Henricus quondam dux Lancastrie pater Blanchie matris supradicti Henrici ducis Herford' misit idem exulatus, ut quidam dicunt, regi Ricardo litteras placabiles racionabili legacione ut subsidium patrimonii tempore relegacionis sue graciose sibi concederet ; nec concessit rex cum consilio eidem in aliquibus subvenire distributis vero universis terris et mobilibus fiscatis [*Col. 2*] usque ad animalia que erant in quatuor forestis in partibus Lancastrie.[1] Rex vero magnam classem versus Hibernian dirigebat. Demum ut quidam dicunt rex suo consilio fulcitus tam Iohannem ducem mortuum quam Henricum eius filium in exilio positum imperpetuum relegavit et bannivit ac per universum regnum id acclamari fecit feceruntque quidam albas cartas per omnes comitatus regni sigillari tam per ecclesiasticos quam per seculares et omnes iurare fideliter observare que in eis scribenda forent unde malam famam duri bondagii futuri in tota communitate populi ventilabant.

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[1] *Cf. Annales Ricardi Secundi* (*Rolls Series*, in *Trokelowe*), pp. 218-219: Adam of Usk, *Chronicon*, pp. 39, 194.

[2] *Cf.* Wright, *Political Poems* (*Rolls Series*), I., pp. 226, 420.

[3] *Recte* 1398.

[4] 16 September, 1398; not the day of St. Euphemia the virgin but of SS. Euphemia, Lucianus, and Germinianus M.M.

[5] 13 October.

[6] 2 February, *recte* 3 February.

Rex vero in Hiberniam applicans modicum profuit quia inimici eius et regni latenter et furtive ipso absente in regnum Anglie supervenerunt et suos ministros interfecerunt et ipsum regem innocentem verbis blandis pacem quasi tractando ipsum fraudilenter circumvenerunt. De hoc dicit Bridlinton

Porci flandrenses non cedent Angligenenses
Falsi sunt penses cum possint impetuenses } versus[2]
Pacem tractabant sed fraudes subtus arabunt
Nam fient falsi fideles sint nisi salsi.

Anno domini millesimo CCC° XCIX° anno regni regis Ricardi secundi xxii° Henricus dux Herford' pausavit in Francia et circa festum sancti Iohannis Baptiste[3] levi manu Angliam repeciit, quia absente pastore cum canibus lupus leviter in ovile ovium transcendit, *contra naturam tauri dispergere curam*,[4] ut dixit, ius sue hereditatis vendicaturus et Thomas Arundell archiepiscopus cantuariensis cum eorum fautoribus contra eorum iuramentum venerunt. Et quia ut dicit Philippus similia similibus applaudunt, omnes vispiliones latrones et qui antea fuerunt exulati per adventum istius ducis ad pacem sive cartis regeis sive nummo sunt revocati; et universa castella fere per totam Angliam diversis cautelis[1] dictorum ad opus ducis capta et occupata fuerunt. Convenerunt [*f. 144v*] illi boriales et de partibus Lancastrie, Derbeie et Stafford multi nobiles et in bellis audaces, ita ut cum manu forti per medium Anglie transeundo fideles quasi proditores insequentes, exercitus velut arena maris in dies crescebat. Demum in castello Bristollie Willelmus Scroupe comes Wiltonie captus et decapitatus est. Item Henricus Grene, Iohannes Busshy eadem pena interierunt quia cum iusto rege tenuerunt.[2] Abinde revertentes per Gloverniam, Herford', Lemysteriam, Ludlowe cum Salopie appropinquasset in eius exercitu ultra ducentena milia universorum plures pravorum quam bonorum fuisse referuntur. Sicque consiliatur versus Cestriam quia omnes fere odium contra Cestrenses habuerunt, "Havok" super eam et eius comitatum proclamato transire.[3]

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[1] Letters patent allowing Henry of Lancaster to take up inheritances by attorney, with respite of homage and fealty were issued on 3 October, 1398 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, p. 425) and cancelled by the parliamentary committee on 18 March, 1399 (*Rot. Parl.*, III., p. 372). Numerous entries on the patent and close rolls show that the Lancastrian estates were not confiscated, but merely held "until Henry . . . or his heir shall have sued the same out of the king's hand according to the law . . ." (*e.g. Cal. Pat. Rolls*, p. 563, 8 May, 1399). The forests of Lancashire were Bowland and Blackburnshire, the latter divided into Pendle, Trawden, Accrington, and Rossendale (Whitaker, *History of Whalley*).

[2] Wright, *Political Poems*, I., p. 204.

[3] 24 June.

[4] Wright, *Political Poems*, I., p. 195, from John of Bridlington.

Cum vero rumores de rege Ricardo se non audivisse nec manu forti resistere valuisse eo quod universi fines Anglie post eum abierunt, tunc quidam veritati emuli cuius nomina ad presens referre nolo se duci predicto reddiderunt et claves per verba optulerunt quia hii de nostro ovili non fuerunt.[4] Preterea dux predictus cum exercitu suo in vigilia sancti Laurencii[5] ad civitatem Cestrie devenit, et deus scit quo animo a civibus receptus. Pace vero concessa et ad altam crucem proclamata, ne occidirent, incenderent seu spoliarent nec quicquam acciperent nisi victualia sibi et iumentis proclamari fecit. Isti vispiliones contrarium facientes tam infra civitatem quam extra magna spolia accipientes circumquaque totam patriam depredaverunt et furtive secum abduxerunt, vinumque excussitis doliorum capitibus effuderunt, thesaurum vero et universa in terra abscondita ubique abstulerunt. Annonam vero devastabant, [*Col. 2*] pecudes senes et iuvenes in campis et pascuis occiderunt et ibidem quasi cadavera iacere permiserunt: scalas, cistas, herpicas et alia utensilia agricolis necessaria in domibus ruralibus ubique combusserunt et propterea maledictionem dei incurrerunt et cet.

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[1] *Cf. Traison et Mort*, p. 180, note 2.

[2] 29 July (*Rot. Parl.* III., 656). The monk of Evesham (*Vita Ricardi*, p. 153) says Scrope and the rest were tried "coram iudicibus viz. constabulario et marescallo," but Aumarle and Surrey were then Constable and Marshal and they were with Richard II. Henry himself may have presided over the trials as Steward.

[3] *Cf.* Archbishop Scrope's manifesto against Henry IV.: "clamando *havok*, fideles homines . . . quosdam spoliavit, quosdam miserabili et incessabili et turpissima morte condemnavit et occidit . . ." (*Historians of the Church of York, Rolls Series*, II., p. 246).

[4] A reference to the desertion of the regent York, who joined Henry at Berkeley Castle in the last week of July (*Annales Ricardi Secundi, Rolls Series in Trokelowe*, p. 246: *Vita Ricardi*, p. 152).

[5] 9 August.

Quo in tempore caput Petri de Legh iudicio ducis sine causa est abscissum et super portam orientalem Cestrie positum cuius anime propicietur Deus. Et corpus sepelitur in ecclesia fratrum Carmelitorum Cestrie.[1] In anno vero sequente communibus insurgentibus contra magnates propter tallagium caput cum corpore sepelitur.[2]

Eodem anno circa festum Advincula sancti Petri[3] rex Ricardus in Hibernia audiens insurrectionem ducis predicti prodiciose festinantem diu per insanum consilium impeditus fuit, donec eius adversarius totum regnum contra ipsum suscitaverit, tandem transmeavit et ad Caermethyn devenit in Wallia dispersoque exercitu pauci cum rege permanserunt. Habuit quidem rex predictus vij^{tem} armigeros valentes et generosos de comitatu Cestrie et cuilibet eorum circa octoginta vernaculos electos specialiter deputatos, excubias regis cum magnis securibus custodientes. Nomina vero eorum hec sunt—Iohannes de Legh del Bothes, Thomas Cholmeley, Rauf Davenport, Adam Bostok, Iohannes Downe, Thomas Bestone, Thomas Holford. Isti vero signa regalia in scapulis album cervum quasi resurgentem deferebant. Ab eis siquidem mala fama extorcionum in populo ventilabatur. Ob quam rem rex innocens in odium suorum communium letaliter sine merito inciderat.[4]

Insuper, ut dictum est, cum rex audiret de copioso exercitu ducis et quasi mundus totus post eum abiit media nocte comitantibus solummodo [*f. 145*] xv de familiaribus secrete exivit ad castra de Hardelagh, de Caernarvan, de Beaumarrys et de Conway, et in istis, nunc in uno, nunc in alio prestolabatur. Mane autem surgens senescallus domus regie innuens eis regem recessisse virgamque fregit deceptorie et ut quilibet se ipsum salvaret monuit. Sicque dispersi fere sunt omnes, a Wallensibus spoliati unusquisque cum labore ad sua remeabat.[1]

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[1] See note D, pp. 163-4 above.

[2] There was evidently some disturbance in Cheshire in connexion with the Holland rising, as the Council minutes refer to the rising of the Earls of Kent and Salisbury and of the men of Cheshire (Nicholas, *Proceedings, vol. I., p. 109, February, 1400*).

[3] 1 August.

[4] See note D, pp. 163-4.

Interea dux regem audiens apud Conway prestolari misit legacionem ut se sponte duci tunc Anglie senescallo iure hereditario et communibus secure presentarent. Tunc per mediacionem precipue archiepiscopi cantuariensis et comitis Northamhimbrorum et super sacramentum corporis Christi iurati quod rex Ricardus staret in suo regali potestate et dominio promiserunt. Et in hac condicione triduo postea ad eos spontanea voluntate se transmisit et cum aliis condicionibus minime retentis sed omnibus in nichilum redactis apud castrum de Flynt simul obviaverunt. Tunc pulcra promissa defecerunt quia suum dominum quasi [*Col. 2*] captivum vel servum tractaverunt : sicque per Cestriam et eius comitatum versus London' properabant. Tunc quidem erant signa regalia tam cervi quam corone sub abscondito posita, unde creditur quod armigeri ducis Lancastrie deferentes collistrigia quasi leporarii[2] ad destruendum insolenciam invise bestie albi cervi per annum presignati sunt quodam presagio futurorum.

Quo etiam anno in festo sancti Michelis[3] archangeli factum est parliamentum apud London ubi intimatum erat regi pro eius depositione in quantis tam proceres quam plebani eum accusare disponebant. Unde ne parliamentum intraret humiliter, ut dictum est, rogavit ; et corona regni super humo posita Deo ius suum resignavit.[4]

Eodem anno circa festum Epiphanie[5] domini conspirabant quidam adversus regem Henricum non immerito ut occideretur, Thomas dux Surrye, comes Cancie qui capite est plexus nesciente rege Henrico in villa sua a suis proditoribus apud Surecestr',[6] item comes Sar' et fidelis miles Rauf Lomney cum multis aliis nobilissimis personis similiter decapitantur. Et dux Exon' frater regis Ricardi apud Plasshee fraudilenter est occisus. Verumptamen rex Henricus fuisset per eos et alios subito occisus nisi esset premunitus per Edwardum ducem de Amarle. [*f. 145ᵛ.*]

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[1] Space of about 16 lines between this and the next paragraph.

[2] *Cf.* Adam of Usk, *Chronicon*, p. 173 and note 2.

[3] 29 September.

[4] Space of about 8 lines between this and the next paragraph.

[5] 6 January.

[6] Cirencester.

Eodem anno Ricardo nobili rege iniuriose sic deposito a suis subditis diversis temporibus periuratis in castro de Pontefracto in custodia detentus cum necem propinquiorum suorum audiret doluit, ut fertur, usque ad mortem relictoque cibo et potu penitus per xii dies languescens deo animam suam commendavit in die sancti Valentini[1] martiris cuius corpus ductum est abhinc usque London in omni villa facie discooperta visui omni palam patuit. Tandem in choro fratrum predicatorum de Langley humatur.

Adeptus culmen regiminis prefatus rex Henricus multa multis promisit et a diversis dona iuste data abstulit et aliis vispilionibus dedit. Ulterius asculta qualiter quosdam de suis coadiutoribus remuneravit, quia comitem[2] Northumbrie filium et fratrem pro mercede decapitavit. Inter cetera dominum Thomam de Arundell quem alter fugavit exulem sedi sue archipresulatus Cantuariensis restituit. Et sic facti sunt amici Herodes et Pilatus quia uterque eorum erat periuratus. Alium quem prefatus Ricardus rex instituit Rogerum Waldene iure sede relicta ad sua redire coegit. Ricardum de Bello Campo comitem Warwyc' a relegacione ab insula de Man omnibus iuribus suis evocavit multosque patrie pacificando reduxit.

Iste commentator in locis quampluribus vituperat commendanda et commendat vituperanda et hoc est magnum vicium in scripturis et maxime in strenuis personis quando aliquis scribit de eis enormia per aliorum loquelam et non per veram noticiam sicut in copia multa fuerunt scripta minus vera et hoc scio pro certo quia in multis locis interfui et vidi et propterea veritatem novi. Sed multi propter adulacionem invidiam seu iram opera aliorum detestantur cum minime sciunt utrum vituperanda sunt vel non nisi per relacionem aliorum qui forsan erant adversarii predictorum. Nam quilibet

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[1] 14 February.

[2] The MS. reads *comitē*, but the form of the sentence, as well as chronological difficulties (above p. 131) suggests that the true reading is *comitis*. Hotspur and the Earl of Worcester were beheaded after the battle of Shrewsbury (the former after death): the Earl of Northumberland was killed at the battle of Bramham Moor (19 February, 1408) and, like his son, beheaded after death (Walsingham, *Hist. Anglic.*, II., p. 278: Davies, *Chronicle of Camden Society*, 1856, p. 34).

Christianus ex iure divino tenetur mori pro veritate cicius quam eam negare quia qui veritatem negat Deum negat quia Deus est veritas. Ideo ex hoc sequitur quod qui detestatur opera viri iusti et fidelis in hoc nititur contradicere veritati, id est, Deo; et sic ex hoc patet quis sapere quid hic scriptor videtur sentire et cet [*Col. 2*].

Eodem anno in parliamento superius notato Henricus primogenitus regis Henrici de Hibernia ductus, qui quidem Henricus per regem Ricardum ibidem in secura custodia fuerat reclusus ordinatus est heres apparens regni, princeps Wallie, dux Cornubie, et comes Cestrie.

Anno domini millesimo CCCC^{mo} quidam maleficus et rebellis cum suis complicibus Wallencium de genere Britonum cuius siquidem nomen Owinus de Glyndour erat, figens se iure progenitorum suorum principem Wallie fore villas angligenas in Wallia, scilicet, Conway, Ruthyn, Oswaldistr' et alias tam muratas quam nudas, spoliavit et incendit. Quequidem terra Wallie tempore regis Edwardi primi conquesta fore dinoscitur.

Circa idem tempus stella comata apparuit in borialibus partibus Anglie. Que comata sintillas vertebat versus Walliam; et quidam estimant dictam cometam pronosticare bellum Salopie.

Eodem anno Reginaldus Grey dominus de Ruthyn non longe a castro dolo et fraude Wallencium et precipue domus sue captus est et fere per biennium in arta custodia positus, ultro pro x milibus librarum redemptus est.[1]

Eodem anno quidam Wallencium, Willelmus ap Tuder in die Parasceves[2] hora tenebrarum dolo et fraude, custode absente, Iohanne Massy de Podyngton milite capitaneo castellum de Conway cepit.

Fertur[3] siquidem in dicto castello hora supradicta tres Wallicos familiares et duos Anglicos custodes, aliis in servicio divino in ecclesia parochiali occupatis remansisse: sicque Anglicis ab eis subdole occisis, castellum vendicarunt: parvo quoque tempore obsidio fessi, ad festum sancti Iohannis Baptiste[4] treugis factis et pace concessa omnibus octo exceptis in manum principis reddiderunt.[1] [*f. 146.*]

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[1] Adam of Usk, *Chronicon*, pp. 77, 247; *Annales*, p. 338; *Vita Ricardi*, p. 177. All give the year 1402 for Grey's capture. He was ransomed at the end of the same year. (*Annales*, p. 349; *Fœdera*, viii., p. 279.

[2] 1 April, 1401. *Cf.* Adam of Usk, pp. 60, 226.

[3] Space of 2 or 3 lines between this and the preceding entry.

[4] 24 June, 1401. *Cf.* Wylie, Henry IV., i., 217.

Anno domini millesimo CCCCI° Owinus iuxta le Pole[2] primo spoliatus contra Anglicos super undam Sabrine dimicavit suisque letaliter lesis et multis interfectis atque galea de capite proiecta sero profugit ab eis. Sed discreti reputant demenciam quando quis una manu percutit alteram. Sicque rex Henricus et princeps Henricus diversis temporibus cum manu forti Walliam pergirantes omnia devastabant, quia in primeva fundacione † cira ea † modicum laborabant.[3] Illi vero rebelles semper fugiendo latuerunt in montibus, boscis et cavernis terre, semper machinantes caudam anglicorum perimere.

Hiis temporibus Anglici multa bona et precipue bestiarum omnium generum quasi infinitam multitudinem abduxerunt, ut putaretur quasi impossibile tanta bona in tam modica plaga principaliter bestiarum acreari.[4] Sed mira res, licet tempus esset clarum et tranquillum nunquam habuerunt, cum ibi essent amenum tempus ante reversionem sed inundacionem tonitruum, grandinem et precipue tempore estivali. Sed hoc non videtur difficile ex sortilegio contingere quod putatur fieri per magos Owini et non est impossibile per potestatem immundorum spirituum aerem commoveri; sed quampluribus discretis videbatur quod causa dictarum tempestatum principaliter fuit quia predicti iustum titulum contra eos non habuerunt: ideo proposito pene semper caruerunt et in vanum sepius laboraverunt etc.[5]

Eodem anno in die sancti Albani[6] in loco qui dicitur Pilale[7] Wallici fraude circumvenerunt Anglicos interficientes ex eis mille quingentos captoque Edmundo le Mortimere a sua familia, ut dicitur, decepto et cum Owyno converso eius filiam desponsavit et in operacione istius cronice in eodem errore perseveravit.

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[1] Space of 2 or 3 lines at the foot of the column.

[2] Welshpool.

[3] The text seems to be corrupt. Perhaps *circa ea modicum laborabant.*

[4] Mr. Charles Johnson (whom we should like to thank for help in fixing the text) suggests that this word is a back formation from *creare*, meaning "to destroy."

[5] The English chroniclers show a certain sympathy for Glendower, calling him *armiger formosus* (*Vita Ricardi*, p. 171), *armiger non ignobilis* (*Annales*, p. 333), and *venerabilem et decentem armigerum* (Giles, *Chronicle*, 1848, p. 20). For the magical devices, *cf. Annales*, p. 343.

[6] 22 June, 1402.

[7] Pillith, co. Radnor, near the village of Knighton in the valley of the Teme. *Cf.* Giles, *Chronicle*, p. 27.

Anno M° ccccij° in festo exaltacionis sancte crucis[1] Scoti intraverunt in Angliam predando et devastando circa xvi milia quibus venit obviam Henricus Percy cum bori [*Col. 2*] alibus apud Homuldonhull et pugnatum est fortiter et ceciderunt ex Scotis et Francigenis circa octo milia et ex Anglicis, ut fertur, nisi quinque homines. Capti siquidem fuerunt mille armati cum quinque comitibus, scilicet, Archibaldo Dowglas, Modrico Her' comite de Fyth, comite de Angus, comite de Orkeneye.[2] Item, vj barones, scilicet, dominus de Mongomere, dominus Thomas Haskyn, dominus Iohannes Stiward, dominus de Sutton, dominus Willelmus Grame et alius baro cuius nomen a memoria excidit. Isti siquidem fuerunt occisi, dominus de Gordon et dominus Iohannes de Swenton.[3]

Anno domini M° cccciij° circa festum translacionis sancti Thome martiris[4] die lune sequente videlicet VI°[5] Idus Iulii, Henricus Percy iusticiarius tunc Cestrie venit per partes Lancastrie cum parva comitiva pacem similans intravit comitatum Cestrie, ibique incitavit diversos in conspiracione contra regem Henricum insurgere; factumque est populo credere Ricardum regem superstitem fore. Quod proclamatum bis in Cestria et in diversis foris comitatus eiusdem fuit proclamatum palam ut qui eum videre affectabant, feria iijª, scilicet, in die Sancti Kenelmi regis[6] ultra forestam de Dalamar' apud le Sondyweye, hora viª convenirent. Fingebant autem dictum regem Ricardum cum comite Northimbrie et grandi exercitu ibidem convenire. Accelerabat quoque utriusque sexus admirabilis multitudo desideratum eius adventum intueri. Cumque ibidem venisset perspicua multitudo, precipue bellatorum, affuit Henrico Percy. Ricardus vero rex ibidem non comparuit quia nondum venerat tempus eius: sed adhuc *renovabuntur*

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[1] 14 September.

[2] Murdoch Stewart was Earl of Fife. There are therefore only four Earls, the number given in Devon, *Issues*, p. 302: but the *Vita Ricardi*, p. 181 and the *Annales*, p. 346, add the Earl of Moray.

[3] Haskyn = Erskine: Sutton = Seton: Swenton = Swinton. The sixth baron was perhaps Adam Foster who acted as spokesman for the prisoners in parliament (*Rot. Parl.*, III., p. 487). The *Vita Ricardi* and the *Annales* name eight barons.

[4] 9 July.

[5] *Recte* v. Id. Iulii.

[6] 17 July.

castra Veneris.[1] Cum autem defraudati erant a desiderio multitudo inbecillorum utriusque sexus ad sua unusquisque revertebatur. Valentes igitur et belligerosi coacti sunt tam promissis quam [*f. 146*^{v}] minarum asperitate longius ire[2] usque Pryccheth ubi regem Ricardum viderent: sed ibidem non fuit inventus. Abinde movebat exercitum validum versus Salopiam iuxta quam die Veneris pernoctabat.

Die lune perantea misit[3] litteras amabiles de Notyngham ad Cestriam per reverendum et spectabilem virum religiosum Willelmum fitz William priorem de Bewle[4] ordinis cartusiensis illum vero dilectum consanguineum nominando et ut ad eum veniret seu propositum suum fideli legacione mitteret affectuose rogabat: et si quid haberet penes eum sufficienter satisfaceret. De quibus predictus ambassiator nullum responsum gaudebit referre. Concilium et legacionem mittit patri comiti Northumbrie per confessorem suum fratrem Robertum Marshall[5] doctorem in theologia. Ducti siquidem sunt multi cum dicto Henrico licet inviti eius propositum aut actum penitus ignorantes et quamquam reverti vellent coacti sunt progredi.

Sabbato in vigilia sancte Marie Magdalene[6] cum exercitu grandi quasi LX^{a} milia virorum ultra flumen Sabrine in campo ultra villam Salopie et pontem de Attingham[7] monstrabat exercitum incognitum Henrici Percy expectando. Cum autem notum ei fieret regis adventus disposuit exercitum quasi vii milia virorum in campo de Harlescote vocato vulgariter le Oldefelde[8] a latere aquilonari ville Salopie. Quod cernens rex movit exercitum per vada[9] prius incolis incognita prosperum iter arripuit sed multis non sic contigit etc., et subtus monasterium in monte Hamonis[1] in conspectu dicti Henrici aciem ordinavit.

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[1] Margin *Merl*[*ini*]. The same quotation is found on the upper margin of f. 142^{v}. *Cf.* Matthew Paris, *Chronica Maiora* (*Rolls Series*), I., p. 209.

[2] *Cf.* Wylie, *Henry IV.*, I., p. 357. The tenants of Lord Lestrange were bullied into following Percy (*Patent Rolls*, 4 Henry IV., pt. 2, m. 12).

[3] Understand *rex*. The two paragraphs are not consecutive. The king was at Burton-on-Trent on the 17th (*Nicholas, Proceedings*, I., p. 208).

[4] Beaulieu Abbey, Hants.

[5] *Cf.* Ramsay, *Lancaster and York*, I., p. 71.

[6] 21 July.

[7] Attingham Hall (in Atcham) is 4 miles S.E. of Shrewsbury.

[8] *Cf.* Kingsford, *English Historical Literature*, p. 36.

[9] This suggests that the king, who arrived at Shrewsbury on Friday the 20th, made a wide *détour* to the east, covered by the "bosky" hill of Haughmond, and recrossing the river came upon Percy by surprise. Ramsay (*Lancaster and York*, I., p. 60, following Owen and Blakway), supposes the king to have marched north along the Whitchurch road.

Misit sepius ambassiatores et abbates Salopie et Hamonis et alios ut dictus Henricus a proposito desisteret et quicquid iuste peteret gratanter optineret. Sequens vero rex mitis consilium sapientis quanto magnus es tanto te humilia in omnibus et eciam [*Col. 2*] scripture dicentis qui effunderit humanum sanguinem effundetur sanguis eius. Cum dictus Henricus cedere nollet, misit rex pacifice per Thomam Percy comitem Wygornie investigans ab eo belli causam et quare adversus eum convenerunt. Qui protinus regi respondit quod causa corone iniuste occupate que iure hereditario filio comitis Marchie cederet. Consiluit[2] proinde rex discedere sine cede et convenire ad parliamentum non obstante quod specialiter per eos et per proceres electus fuerat; sed probabile signum erat quod Henricus Percy ad hoc non consenciit quia in die coronacionis ad festum non incedit quia pro certo ipso invito coronacio facta fuit quia Henricus dux iuravit aliis duobus Henricis super reliquias de Bridlynton quod coronam nunquam affectaret, et tunc dixit si aliquis dignior corona inveniretur libenter cederet; ducatum Lancastrie sibi sufficere fatebatur. Quod nequaquam consentire videbantur, sed coronam sibi reddere aut pro ea pugnare affectabant. Rex vero non obstante proterva eius responsione adhuc ut sepius humanum sanguinem salvare satagens ut cum dicto Henrico duellaret affectans ne plures causa eorum occumberent. Cum vero hoc plane negatum foret et in priori proposito perseverassent ait rex. "Divulgatum mihi esse vestrum nequam consilium. Profiteor quod me vivente in eternum non fiet: disponitis siquidem filios comitis Marchie spurios et Edmundum de Mortuo mari proditorem approbare sicque Henricum Percy vel filium eius iure hereditario uxoris sue in regem coronare." Sicque tractando de pace quod minime concedebatur dies ad horam vesperarum[3] declinaverit. Ait quoque rex cum nullo modo a cede vellent quiescere, "Precedat vexillum in nomine Domini." Exercitus quoque regis in tribus aciebus dispositus erat utriusque exercitus pedites obviantes con [*f. 147*] gressum est fortiter in campo supranominato. Affirmabant autem qui interfuerunt se nunquam vidisse, nec in cronicis legisse a tempore christianitatis tam acrum[1] bellum in tam parvo tempore nec maiorem stragem quam inibi acciderat.

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[1] The Abbey of Haughmond, 4 miles N.E. of Shrewsbury.

[2] For these negotiations, see above p. 134.

[3] "Shortly after midday the battle was begun" (Wylie, *Henry IV.*, I., p. 362: but the *Annales* (p. 370), say "*diu post meridiem.*"

Comes ergo Staffordie qui primam aciem regis ducebat una cum suis a sagittis Percii interemptus est. Deinde venit rex in secunda acie. Cumque utraque pars fere sagittas expendissent primo hastis secundo securibus et gladiis dimicabant. Prosternuntur multi ex utraque parte. Magna pars exercitus regis scilicet orientalis relicto eo equis cariagiis sociorum assumptis fugerunt. Cumque rex in magno periculo in laciore parte esset supervenit princeps Henricus cum tercia acie et magna valitudine armatorum : confligebat acriter. Rex vero accepta secure propriis manibus latam viam et magnam stragem in hostibus fecit et multos propriis manibus prosternabat. Nullus vero validis eius ictibus obstare valebat. Ceciditque vexillum Henrici Percy etiam ipse a rege in terram prosternitur. Mortuus Gilbertus Halsall[2] et multi alii ut ferunt manu regia perimuntur. Et sic occidit Saul mille et David decem milia.

Vix fuerunt arma aliqua illo die que sagittis obstare valebant. Cadebant ex utraque parte plures, fitque grandis et letalis strages quoniam in nostro evo nunquam pictabatur in toto mundo tanta multitudo acreari pugna duarum horarum spacio : armati siquidem inter se acriter confligentes ex parte dicti Henrici Percy disconflicti mediante laudabiliter acie principis dorsa verterunt. Dei gracia factus est rex victor campi insequentibus autem eos victoribus multi letaliter occumbebant. Denique rex galea capitis deposita viva voce sepius acclamavit ne interficiatis [*Col. 2*] plures hominum meorum. Sicque cessantes omnes utriusque partis tam vulnerati quam mortui quasi in momento spoliati sunt et nudi relicti. Ceciderunt in dicto prelio inter v et vi milia virorum extra multis diu languentibus[3] domoque occumbentibus multi vero mutilacione membrorum pacientes superfuerunt. Venerabilis princeps Henricus tunc puer quasi XVI annorum graviter vulneratus est in facie cum sagitta prope narem: dei gracia convaluit.[1] Mortui sunt milites ex parte regis ut dicitur circa xxviii, ex parte vero Henrici Percy circa viii. Sepulti sunt enim in uno sarcofago in eodem campo ut qui numeravit retulit mille octingenti xlvij^{tem} extra illis qui aliis locis sepulti sunt.

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[1] *Sic.*

[2] Gilbert Halsall was a Lancastrian knight who served Richard II. in Ireland for the greater part of the reign. His lands and goods in the Duchy of Lancaster were forfeit by reason of his rebellion (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, p. 252, 12 August, 1403). The village of Halsall is three miles west of Ormskirk, just off the road from Liverpool to Southport.

[3] *Cf. Annales*, p. 370, says that of the wounded *postea periit magna pars languendo.*

Henricus Percy qui apud Whitchirche fuerat sepultus, in crastino, scilicet, die dominica exhumatus est eiusque corpus Salopie reductum ne putaretur a populo vivus evasisse positumque corpus predictum nudum supra unam axem in mola positam in conspectu transeuntium intuendum loquebatur siquidem rex ut sepius ante initium belli Henrico Percy quasi vivo: "Ego apello te in die iudicii de humano sanguine me invito perempto." Die vero lune sequenti dampnati sunt fideles[2] quasi proditores: corpus dicti Henrici quarterizatum sive quadripartitum unumque quarterium Cestriam missum diuque super orientalem portam civitatis pendebatur. Thomas Percy, Richardus Venables baro de Kynderton, Ricardo[3] le Vernon baro de Shybroke cum multis aliis tracti, suspensi, et quarterizati sunt. Deditque rex graciam et pacem universis cicius causa metus quam amoris et cet, ut quidam dixerunt.

Explicit tercia pars.

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[1] "Qui post bellum cum suis lesis ad castrum veniens Kenill[worth] ibidem curatus erat *per artem medicine*" (*Addit. MS. British Museum*, 35295, f. 263^{v}).

[2] These words also occur above, p. 171, l. 9, and are clearly inconsistent with the point of view of the continuator. They may be one of the glosses referred to on p. 129. *Cf.* below *cicius causa metus quam amoris.*

[3] MS. *sic.*

WOODBROOKE STUDIES.

CHRISTIAN DOCUMENTS IN SYRIAC, ARABIC, AND GARSHŪNI EDITED AND TRANSLATED WITH A CRITICAL APPARATUS.

By A. MINGANA.

Fasciculus 6.

APOCALYPSE OF PETER.

Prefatory Note.

IN the following pages I give the text and the translation, accompanied by a critical apparatus, of a rather strange apocryphon, known generally as the *Apocalypse of Peter*, although its more genuine title appears to be the *Book of the Rolls*. The former title is the one that is commonly used by modern scholars while the latter is sanctioned by the work itself.[1]

Fifty-six pages of the first part of the Arabic text of the *Book of the Rolls* were published in 1901 by Mrs. Gibson, from an undated manuscript preserved in the monastery of Mount Sinai. On palæographic grounds this Sinai MS. may be ascribed to about the middle of the ninth century. It deals with the creation and the history of the Jewish people from the beginning down to the birth of the Virgin with which it ends. The MS. of which I am giving the text and translation contains all the *Book of the Rolls*, including the part already published. I did not consider it necessary, however, to include in my edition the section edited by Mrs. Gibson, although the MS. which she used and the one which I am editing and translating exhibit important variants affecting both the general meaning and the linguistic peculiarities of the sentences.

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[1] See below, p. 192, and *Kitāb al-Majāll*, or the *Book of the Rolls* (*Studia Sinaitica*, No. viii.), and Baron de Slane's *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, pp. 18-19.

The title *Apocalypse of Peter* has, however, much to commend it. In my collection of manuscripts there are five Garshūni texts that give to the book the express title of *Iktishāf Shim'un*, "Apocalypse of Simon," or *Jalayan Buṭrus*, "Apocalypse of Peter." See Mingana Syr. 106, ff. 32b-35a; Mingana Syr. 225, ff. 63a-75a; Mingana Syr. 369, ff. 30-31; Mingana Syr. 411, ff. 17a-32b; and Mingana Syr. 446, ff. 84a-103a. In spite of the authority of these five MSS. I am inclined to believe that the title *Book of the Rolls* as applied to the present work is more original than *Apocalypse of Peter*, because the narrative does not contain those parts of the Apocalypse of Peter known to us through Greek and Ethiopic sources.[1]

The five MSS. of my collection referred to above contain a much shorter text than the one exhibited by Mingana Syr. 70 (henceforth M. 70) which I have followed for my edition. Most of the points discussed in the latter are completely missing in the former, and the textual comparison between the six MSS. is not that found between three recensions of the same narrative, but rather that found between three totally different works. Let us only consider the deep divergences that must characterise works contained within the limits of 194 leaves, 19 leaves, 15 leaves, 12 leaves, 3 leaves, and 2 leaves of the same size.

The above six MSS. and the one numbered Mingana Syr. 138 (ff. 172-182) are all in Garshūni (Arabic in Syriac characters) and exhibit what I would call a Syrian recension of the Apocryphon. The style of the text which they contain is here and there saturated with sentences the construction of which denotes an Arabic speaking Syrian. Further, I shall point out in the footnotes that M. 70 and M. 225 contain formulæ that are wholly Syriac.

Some public libraries of Europe[2] contain an Arabic work which embodies points that are more or less similar to those exhibited in the present work. That Arabic work is divided into chapters that vary from 88 to 99 in number. The subjects dealt with in them are heterogeneous in character and often totally different from those found in the MSS. of my collection. M. 70 is divided into 8 parts (juz's) with occasional sub-divisions into *faṣls.*, while M. 106, M. 138, M. 225, M. 369, M. 411, and M. 446 have no divisions of any kind and only contain that part of the work which is more pertinent to an apocalyptic atmosphere. It is this striking difference of subjects apart from the baffling divergence in phraseology that has induced me to characterise the recension of M. 70 as Syrian and to distinguish it from the Arabic MSS. mentioned above, which for lack of an adequate title I would provisionally characterise as Egyptian.

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[1] James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, pp. 505-521.

[2] See the *Bodleian* Catalogue by Nicoll, No. xlviii. pp. 49-54; the *Paris* Catalogue by Baron de Slane, Nos. 76-79, pp. 18-19; the *Vatican* Catalogue by Ang. Mai., No. clxv. p. 304, in *Script. Vet. Nova Collectio*, vol. iv. See also Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.*, ii. 508.

Of all the Arabic MSS. containing the *Apocalypse of Peter* the one with a text most similar to the MSS. of my collection seems to be that preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge.[1]

As it frequently happens in the case of books written by Copts in that Christian Arabic which is often peculiar to themselves, the present work has passed from Arabic into Ethiopic, and has acquired in the literature of that language, which has always evinced a marked predilection for the strange type of the apocryphal literature, the rather appropriate title of *Ḳalēmentos*, "Clement." In 1911 M. Sylvain Grébaut began a French translation of this Ethiopic Apocryphon in *R.O.C.*[2] and the last number of the *Revue* (Nos. 1 and 2 of 1928, pp. 22-31) breaks off at Book iii. There are evidently many more pages to come before the end of the work is reached in its Ethiopic garb.

From the middle of the work the Ethiopic version differs considerably from the existing Arabic texts, because it mostly deals with ecclesiastical Canons which have not much in common with Apocalyptic literature. So far as the title *Ḳalēmentos* is concerned the Ethiopic tradition finds strong support in M. 70, the colophon of which precisely states: "Here ends the blessed book known as *Clement*."

To edit all the above MSS. in a single publication is almost an impossibility, because their texts are often as divergent and remote from each other as, say, the two texts of the ecclesiastical histories of Sozomen and Theodoret. I tried to combine the texts of two of them only, but after many days of labour, to my great regret I found myself beaten by the joined forces of reckless copyists and careless authors who, conscious that they were not dealing with any scriptural and inspired matter, vied with each other in their attempts to add to or to subtract from, the book which they were transcribing or composing.

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[1] No. 915 in E. G. Browne's *Hand-List of Muḥammadan MSS.* Mrs. Gibson gave some extracts of it in *Studia Sinaitica*, No. viii. pp. xx-xxxi of the introduction.

[2] *Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-Clémentine*, p. 72 *sqq.*

Under these circumstances I felt compelled to confine myself to one series of texts only in my edition of the Apocryphon, and I fixed my attention on M. 70 as the one likely to give a more ancient version of the story. Three considerations helped me to form an opinion on the subject :—

1. M. 70 embodies in its text another Apocryphon which in Syriac passes under the name of *Testament of Adam*, and as such has been edited and translated by Kmosko in the second volume of the *Pat. Syr.* Portions of this Testament are found in Greek, and have been edited and translated by M. R. James in vol. ii. of *Texts and Studies* under the title of *A Fragment of the Apocalypse of Adam*.[1] Whether this *Testament* or *Apocalypse of Adam* constituted an integral part of the *Apocalypse of Peter* which I am editing and translating I cannot decide with certainty, although the hypothesis that the *Apocalypse of Adam* might have been embodied in the *Apocalypse of Peter* by a copyist or by the author of the second composition is the one that would appeal to me as more probable.

2. M. 70 contains passages which seem to possess an archaic savour, and appear to precede the time of the Christological controversies of the fourth and fifth centuries. I will here quote the following lines :—

"He became a child and the angels worshipped Him in the Pavilion of the Father, and He spoke to them and answered them. He was on the arms of Mary and I made Him put on humanity in the robes of Baptism and in the fulfilment of my prescriptions. I did not wish to place Him in this world. I will finish Him and perfect Him. . . . It is I who lifted Him on the wood of the Cross, and it is I who raised Him from the accursed earth. I did not place Him on it except for the purpose of showing Him in it. I am always in Him, and I shall raise Him above all my creatures."

It is very seldom indeed that one meets with such passages in West Syrian or Monophysite MSS. The words which remind one of the

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[1] Fuller reference will be made in the footnotes to these two publications.

Odes of Solomon are placed in the mouth of Christ who is repeating them to Peter, but as it is impossible to believe that Christ Himself could have pronounced them, I hold them to be part of a much older composition that has been embodied by the author in his narrative.[1] Our Apocryphon contains some other passages of this kind.

3. M. 70 contains Syriac words and Syriac expressions which generally stamp a Christian Arabic composition with a mark of age and originality that is missing in compositions of a later date. Christian Arabic began mostly in Christian circles belonging to Syrian Churches, either of the Nestorian or of the Monophysite or of the Melchite school of thought, and early Copts seem to have exercised but slight influence on Christian Arabic lexicography.

As I have by necessity followed one MS. for my edition I shall give it all in facsimile. In the footnotes I have corrected the grammatical and lexicographical mistakes of the author or the copyist which are likely to affect the meaning of the sentences. Other linguistic errors are more or less similar to those to which I often drew attention in the first and second volumes of my *Woodbrooke Studies.*

Dr. M. R. James has already drawn our attention[2] to the fact that Clement of Alexandria mentions in his so-called *Prophetical Extracts* an "Apocalypse of Peter:" "Wherefore also Peter in the *Apocalypse* saith: 'And a lightning of fire leaping from the children (who had been exposed by their parents) and smiting the eyes of the women.'" And again: "For example Peter in the *Apocalypse* saith: 'The children born abortively, who would have been saved if they had lived, will be delivered to a caretaking angel.'" And again: "But the milk of the mothers . . . saith Peter in the *Apocalypse* shall engender small beasts."

The next Father who mentions by name the *Apocalypse of Peter* is, according to James, Macarius Magnes (fourth century) who writes: "And by way of superfluity let this also be cited which is said in the *Apocalypse of Peter.*"

Our next authority which refers by name to the *Apocalypse of Peter* is an old Latin homily on the Ten Virgins published by Dom

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[1] See my note on these lines on p. 201.

[2] *Apocryphal New Testament*, pp. 506-507. See also Fabricius, *Cod. Apocryph. Nov. Test.*, 1703, p. 940 *sqq.*

Wilmart.[1] In it is written: "The river of fire by which the ungodly shall be kept out of the Kingdom of God, as is written in Daniel and in Peter, in his *Apocalypse*."

Eusebius in his ecclesiastical history[2] mentions among books of doubtful authority an *Apocalypse of Peter*, while Sozomen[3] asserts that an *Apocalypse* by Peter was in his days read in some churches of Palestine.

I will here quote in full a passage from the letter which James de Vitry, Bishop of Acres, sent to the Pope Honorius III. about A.D. 1219: "Praesenti anno Suriani, qui nobiscum erant in exercitu, librum alium antiquissimum, lingua Saracenica scriptum, de antiquis armariis suis nobis ostenderunt, cujus erat superscriptio: *Revelationes B. Petri Apostoli, a discipulo ejus Clemente in uno volumine redactae.* Quicunque autem hujus libri auctor extiterit, ita aperte et expresse de statu Ecclesiae Dei a principio usque at tempora Anti-Christi et finem mundi praenuntiavit, quod ex completione praeteritorum indubitatam facit fidem fiturorum."[4]

That an *Apocalypse of Peter* was in existence from the first centuries of the Christian era is, therefore, certain, but it is difficult to believe that that *Apocalypse* is the one preserved in the Arabic MSS. referred to above and in the Garshūni MSS. of my collection, although it seems fairly probable that the "Revelations of the B. Apostle Peter" spoken of by James de Vitry, refers to a document similar to that preserved in one of the above MSS. As the work stands in these MSS. it appears to me to be a genuine but composite Arabic lucubration with different layers of antiquity, a true *mixum compositum.* The first and the most ancient of these Arabic layers I am tempted to ascribe to about A.D. 800. To this ancient layer many authors or copyists have at various times added here and there passages likely to render the original composition more interesting to their readers or hearers.

This process of adding to and subtracting from the original composition seems to have lasted down to the fourteenth century. To the eleventh, twelfth or thirteenth centuries I would ascribe the rhymed part of the text to which I call attention in the footnotes, and some other sentences which appear to be a digression from the main theme.

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[1] *Bulletin d'an. litt. et d'arch. Chrét.*, quoted by James (*ibid.*).

[2] Book vi. c. 14.

[3] *Hist. Eccl.*, Book viii. c. 19.

[4] Grabius, *Spicilegium*, i. 76-77, and Nicoll in a note to his Catalogue of the Arabic MSS. of the *Bodleian*, pp. 49-50.

A more difficult question concerns the degree of originality that the first layer of about A.D. 800 may command. In reviewing Bezold's edition of the Syriac book entitled *Cave of Treasures*, De Lagarde speaks[1] of our *Apocalypse*, and taking into consideration the colophons of the Paris MSS. 77 and 78, which state that the *Apocalypse of Peter* was found in Nicosia, thinks that the book has some relation with the first crusades. So far as the *Book of the Rolls* is concerned, apart from the intrinsic improbability of this surmise, the date of the Sinai MS., which cannot be much later than the ninth Christian century, will always constitute an irrefutable external evidence militating against it.

It is possible to believe that the first author utilised parts of a version of an *Apocalypse of Peter* current in his day, or some other similar works, and that in editing them in Arabic, added to them those sections of the Apocryphon that clearly allude to Islam and the first Muslim Caliphs. It may possibly be surmised that he could not have been in a position to produce from his own head a complete book and attribute it to Peter, if such a book had no relation whatever with the *Apocalypse of Peter* that was known at least to a considerable number of his contemporaries and readers.

That the work as presented to us in the MSS. alluded to above is an original Arabic composition and not a mere translation from another language, be it Coptic, Syriac or Greek, will be readily admitted by all Semitic scholars. On the other hand there are very strong reasons for believing that many sentences and whole passages in it are under the influence of a language alien to Arabic, and have a strong savour of a free translation or a close imitation of other works that the author may have utilised.

I have often drawn attention in the footnotes to the Ethiopic translation in its relation to the Arabic original represented in M. 70. In some places the Ethiopic translator seems to have been rendering a text identical with that of our MS. and in some others his original appears to have been totally different to the extent that about two-thirds of the text and translation of my present edition are missing in it.

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[1] *Mittheilungen*, iii. 50-51.

From observations that I have ventured to add in the footnotes it will be seen that I believe that many passages of M. 70 which are now in Garshūni were transcribed from a MS. written in Arabic characters.

It is useful here to remark that a Georgian MS. described in *R.O.C.* by Avalichvili contains the translation of the well-known Syriac work entitled *Cave of Treasures* with the addition of the "Horarium" of the *Testament of Adam* as in our present MS.[1]

The source of a large section of the Vision of Peter dealing with the heavenly Jerusalem, seems to be, as my footnotes will indicate, the canonical *Book of the Revelation* from which the author borrows freely, but curiously enough with many modifications.

The headings and some other passages that I have considered to be editorial additions by the unknown author will be given in italics.

TRANSLATION.

And I Clement said to my teacher Peter, the head of the Apostles, the vizier of mercy, and the keeper of the keys of heaven: "O eminent teacher, you have made me your son, your disciple and your vizier; you have taught me the history of the Old Testament,[2] and instructed me in the genealogies found in it down to the birth of the Lady Mary, the daughter of Joachim, to such an extent that I am in a position to refute the Jews in[3] my discussions with them, since by disclosing to me their secrets you have made me versed in their history: now I implore you and beseech you to crown your kindness to me by disclosing to me all the secrets which the Christ has revealed to you on the part of the one and eternal God in order that I may commit them to writing. Begin by telling me why God created Adam knowing in His prescience that he would undoubtedly break His commandment; why Christ became incarnate; why there is life and death; what there is after death; what is the meaning of soul; and why (God) promised resurrection. Impart also to me the knowledge of the hierarchies of the heavenly beings; of what will happen in heaven and on the day of the resurrection to those who believe in and follow

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[1] *R.O.C.*, xxvi. 1928, pp. 381-405.

[2] Lit. "The Torah." The author refers here to the preceding part of his book in which the Jewish history is dealt with and the narrative brought down to the birth of the Virgin.

[3] Remove the *wāw* before *fī*.

Christ; of what will take place at the end of the world; and of the state of Paradise and of the Kingdom of Heaven.

"O eminent teacher, confide to me the secret of all these since I have a right to ask them of you, because you have promised to grant my request to you. Keep and fulfil your promise to me, and tell me what the Son of God promised to His disciples."

And the teacher Peter replied and said to him in answer to his question:[1] "O my child, I shall grant you your wish, and since you have so desired it I shall answer all your questions and impart to you the knowledge of their solution in order that you may understand and believe. Let it be known to you that you will not die before you have witnessed many miracles the working of which Jesus Christ the Son of the Eternal God will grant[2] to you if you are steadfast in believing in Him, in following Him and in keeping His commandments. He will also bestow many favours on you. I shall now begin to disclose the secrets for which you have asked by the help of the Lord Redeemer, the Christ Jesus of Nazareth."[3]

This is the beginning of the secrets which Peter revealed to Clement.

In the name of our Lord, our God and our Saviour I shall write the hidden secrets of God which no creature knew but which our Lord revealed and disclosed to Peter His elect: What is the meaning of "*Son of God from God*, and of the *Spirit of God?*"[4] By the assistance of God the tongue of Peter had already confessed the truth when our Lord had asked him who He was. Indeed Peter had previously confessed this truth about the Light before the company of the Apostles when our Lord had asked them: "What do men say about me, and what say ye?" And by the help of the Holy Spirit Peter had said: "Thou art the Christ, the Son of God."[5] Peter had not answered Christ in this way through knowledge emanating from his flesh and blood, nor from his science and the greatness of his intelligence, nor from his asceticism, his austere living and his fasting, but it was God who had seen the purity of his conscience and revealed the truth to him. The Apostles had also laid in their memory the utterance of our Lord, on this occasion, to Peter: "It is not through flesh and blood that you knew that I was from my Father but it is the one who speaks through me who has inspired you to believe in me and to confess me." Through these words of our Lord a reverential fear had entered into the heart of Peter for the Divine Majesty, and he had not understood then what our Lord had precisely meant, nor had he dared to ask Him about that concise saying during all the time He was with them in Jerusalem.

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[1] This pronoun "his" suggests that all these sentences are to be attributed to the editor of the work.

[2] Read *wa-yunwalliha*.

[3] The copyist adds here in Garshūni: "Here it ends by the help of the Most High God," and then proceeds in Syriac: "O brother readers pray for my father and mother."

[4] All the above section is missing in the Ethiopic *Qalementos* translated by S. Grébaut in *R.O.C.*, 1912, 244 *sqq.* Was the passage missing in the Arabic original lying before the Ethiopic translator, or was it simply overlooked by him? The Ethiopic version begins with the following sentence.

[5] Matt. xvi. 14-16.

The great Father, the Apostle Peter, said to his disciple Clement: "Know that when forty days after His resurrection from the dead our Lord desired to go up and ascend to heaven and to His Kingdom in which He had never ceased to be, and to return to His resplendent glory[1] and majesty, He took the eleven[2] chieftains and also the Lady and the seventy followers, to the Mount of Olives. Then our Lord separated Himself from all the disciples and took up with Him to the holy mountain of Sinai me Peter, the beloved John and James, sons of Zebedee, and Mart[3] Mary the pure Lady, the mother of good hope and the mother of the Resurrection and Resuscitation, the pure mother through whom God forgave the trespasses of all the sinners, the one who is called 'the mistress of the women and the lady of the nobles,' Mart Mary—may God remember us through her benedictions, increase for us the scent of the perfume of her prayers, and sanctify all the children of Baptism by the sweetness of her asceticism and holiness! God heard His son for us through her, because we have no one besides Him[4] to save us from the wrongs of this world and of the world to come.

"He left, therefore, the rest of the disciples at the foot of the mountain and breathed in our face the breath of the Holy Spirit and said: 'Get no gold nor silver nor wallet for the route which you will follow; and make provision of no brass, and have no staff, because you shall be in no need of all that.[1] Know that I have given you power that when you lay your hands on the sick they will be healed and made whole, on the cripples and they will stand up, on the dead and they will rise.[2] In what I have bestowed upon you from the Holy Spirit you have power over all the earth. I am now going where my Father ordered me. Freely I gave you the high gifts, freely give them. Wherever you assemble and mention my name there I shall be with you.' "[3]

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[1] The word *subḥ* which is constantly used by the author in the sense of "glory" is derived from the Syriac *shubḥa*.

[2] Read *al-aḥad* for *al-ḥādi*. The "chieftains" are the Apostles.

[3] A Syriac title of honour meaning "our Lady."

[4] Or possibly "her." Read *siwāhu* or *siwāha*.

Then the great teacher Peter said to me while he was about to disclose the secrets to me: "O my son Clement the secret which you have asked me to disclose to you is of great moment and I ought not to divulge anything of its nature to the worlds. It is a thing that the Christ our Lord confided to us before He ascended to heaven. He ordered us to keep all of it concealed from notice, and I ought not to divulge it as the minds of men are not able to comprehend it because it transcends them; and if human intelligence were able to comprehend it, it would have been circumscribed."[4] And I Clement did not cease to beseech the teacher Peter and to implore him to favour me with what I had asked of him until he granted my request and said: "Prepare the rolls and write down on them[5] what I shall dictate to you. Make the present writing follow[6] what we have already told you concerning the genealogy of Mary, the mother of light, and make one book of the whole." This is the reason why I Clement have entitled this book *The Book of the Rolls*.[7] And I began to write on the rolls what the holy teacher dictated to me, while my eyes were shedding tears and my hands were trembling.

When the teacher Peter noticed this from me he caught me with his hand and took me up to the Mount of Olives, to the spot from which our Lord Jesus the Saviour "the Son of the Living God"[8] had ascended to heaven. Then he lifted his eyes to heaven, wept bitterly and made on me the sign of the cross and said: "O Jesus Christ strengthen me with power from you in order that through it this son may be instructed in[1] the secret which you have confided to me, because I have chosen him[2] and elected him by your power. Make me understand now that part of the secrets taught by you to me, which had transcended my intelligence."

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[1] Matt. x. 10 (with changes).

[2] *Cf.* Matt. x. 8.

[3] *Cf.* Matt. xviii. 20.

[4] Read *maḥdūdan*.

[5] Read *fīha*.

[6] Read *waṣuff*.

[7] This sentence which is missing in Ethiopic (*ibid.* 245) brings the present work into relation with the *Book of the Rolls* edited by Mrs. Gibson in *Studia Sinaitica* (No. viii.). That book ends in effect with the genealogy of Mary.

[8] The sentence "The Son of the Living God" is always given in Syriac in the document as if it was a sacred and mysterious formula.

Then he prostrated himself[3] to the ground and worshipped forty times, and I also worshipped like his worship. And he raised his head from his prostration at the end of his forty genuflections, and I looked at his face and I saw that it was illuminated and that it beamed and shone like the ray of the sun; and I looked at him and noticed that something resembling a flame of burning fire was coming out of him. A great fear and dread took hold of me. And the saint said to me: "Be not afraid, O my son, of what[4] you saw coming out of me, and since I speak to you through the Holy Spirit, do not be terrified by it. If you had seen the miracles which I have witnessed from the Christ our Lord you would not have been able to live through them, and this in spite of the fact that He—may His names be sanctified[5]—did not show us except a few of[6] His Divine miracles." And he said to me: "Keep what you will write down from my dictation, because let it be known to you that after me will come people[7] who will not believe in my words nor in the preaching of the holy disciples."

Then the teacher sat in the place from which Jesus Christ had ascended to heaven, and showed to me the spot on which the Lady had sat, and the spot on which James and John had also sat, and said: "When Jesus Christ took us up and we came to this holy mountain at the time when He wished to ascend to heaven, He said to me, 'Be in no fear, O Peter, because you are the foundation of my Church and it is on you that I will build it.' And I worshipped Him and said, 'I wish to ask you some questions and I also desire an answer to them, O you who revived your creatures by your grace.' And our Lord said: 'Ask what you wish,' and I said, 'O Son of God,—which is the same as *breh d'-Alāha ḥayya*[1]—before you created heaven, earth, angels and men where was your abode? And how was it? And who glorified and magnified you, since you had not created yet anyone to glorify? And on what was set the throne of your Kingdom, since there was no heaven and no earth and no space to contain it?[2] And how were you in your essence?'"

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[1] Read *'ala.*

[2] Read *ikhtartuhu.*

[3] Read *sajada.*

[4] Read *mimma.*

[5] This sentence is probably post-Islamic and refers to the "ninety-nine" excellent names of God in Muslim theology. The expression is found in the Ḳur'ān, vii. 179. It is not found in the Ethiopic translation.

[6] Probably add *min.*

[7] Read *ḳaumun.*

And the Saviour, who saves the heart from bad thoughts, said to me: 'O Peter, you have asked something which the minds of men do not reach, which your heart is unable to contain and your power to bear, as the minds of men are unable to comprehend even a portion of it, since,[3] however, you wish to learn it I shall write it down and reveal it to you in order that you may add it to the book.' Then He said: 'As to your saying, Where was my abode?—My abode was in my Father before the created beings were created. As to the throne of my glory and majesty it was in the greatness of my grace. The Father was in me, glorifying me, and I in the Father, glorifying the Spirit who proceeds from us,[4] and who is eternally with us, because we are three persons: The Father is in me and in the Spirit, and I am in the Father, and the Spirit is in me and in the Father.

"'No one preceded us, no one is intermediary between us and no one extends between us; none of us can be called "the last one" because none of us is old and none of us is young, and we have neither beginning nor end. Every being worships us, and we are in[5] everything by our power, and what is under us is from our power. And we have neither length nor breadth.

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[1] This formula is as usual in Syriac and is missing in Ethiopic. Whenever there is in the text a translation of it into Arabic, I will transliterate it from Syriac into Roman characters.

[2] The Ethiopic version seems to contain a mistranslation as it reads "since it contained nothing." *R.O.C.*, 1912, 246.

[3] Read *lākin* for *likai*. This proves decisively that the original from which the MS. is derived was written in undotted Arabic characters since it is only in Arabic that the letters *yā* and *nūn* are identical and distinguishable only by extraneous dots placed over or under them.

[4] Note that the author apparently believes in the procession of the Spirit from the Son also. This sentence is missing in Ethiopic.

[5] Probably read *fi*. The Ethiopic translator seems to have misunderstood this somewhat complicated Arabic sentence. He has even gone so far as to translate "your power" instead of "in power."

“ ‘We contain everything and nothing contains us. We have neither elevation nor a summit,[1] and we have no height because we are higher than height. We have no depth because we fathom the last extremity of depth, and we have no lowness because our power encompasses[2] everything. Know that every depth, height, width, and length are made and fashioned by us. We have neither right nor left because we are the right and the left in a strength and power which cannot be seen and comprehended. We have neither exterior nor interior because we are the exterior and the interior.

“ ‘Our glory, our majesty and our grace are from us, to us, between us, in us, and with us, and not from another being besides us; and no one understands us. We are three[3] attributes and three persons: the Father is grace, I am wisdom and the Spirit is life; the Father is justice and righteousness, I am clemency and power, and the Spirit is intelligence and mercy. No heaven contains us, and no earth encompasses us. Wherever we are, we are all of us, and we do not change from state to state nor do we move from place to place. None of us has any change or separation, because all of us are one. We were from eternity and we shall be to eternity. We have no place in which we dwell and no spot to which to move. The minds do not reach us in our essence, nor do the eyes and sights perceive us and see us in our substance.

“ ‘The Father, I and the Spirit are one. There is no increase nor decrease in us. We are not three but we are one. The Father created the created things by means of the Son, and their life came[4] through the Spirit. The Father is majesty and eternal power, I am His word and the Spirit is action and procession. We are not a company[5] and there is no separation in us. The definitions do not reach us, because we are above all circumscribed things, and the minds do not comprehend us. We are not associates, nor is there disunion between us. The Father created all things by means of the

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[1] Lit. “elevation of elevation.” Evidently the Ethiopic translator did not understand this difficult sentence because he omitted it entirely.

[2] Read *yaḥtawi*. [3] Read *thalath*. [4] Read *kānat*.

[5] The Ethiopic translator (*R.O.C.*, 1912, p. 246) understood this sentence in the sense of “we are not numerous.”

Son and their perfection was through the Spirit. There is no one to be compared or likened to us.

" 'The Father is wisdom, I am its word,[1] and the Spirit is its life and covenant. The reasonings and the definitions do not reach us because we are above them. We cannot be compared to the likeness of anything, because we are above all comparison. Nothing can be drawn from us by analogy, because we are above all analogy. My Father is fire, I am its light and the consuming Spirit is its heat. My Father is sun, I am its ray and the Spirit its light. My Father is eminence, I am its glory and the Spirit its honour. My Father is gift, I am its mercy and the Spirit its perfection. Without me no creature came into being, because I was always in existence from the Father before the heaven. I am in the Father, and the Spirit is in me. Without me no created thing would have come into being. We are inside all created things and outside them. We are in all the recondite and hidden things. We are inside and outside the things. None of us comes really into us and none of us goes out of us, because we are both the inside and the outside.[2] My Father is mind, I am its Word and the Spirit is its voice.

" 'We are everything, and we are *the* existing being. We are the beginning and we have no end. We are above the beginning and above the time. There are no hidden things to us, and nothing is concealed from us[3] because we are above everything. Since our glorification and magnification are from us, in us, with us and between us without beginning and without end, our love is perfect—that love which we have directed to the creation of the world, and which we have ordered the inhabitants of the world to acknowledge, in order that through it they may know[4] our Kingdom and our supreme power.

" 'At the very beginning when we created all the created things the Father said to me and to the Spirit: " Let us create divinely, by means of a sign, the water, the spirit, the sky, the winds and the other things," and we created them. The heaven was mingled with water and was not completely fashioned. Everything was in a confused and promiscuous state. We created the clearest waters[1] in order to establish our throne on them, and where we were then we are now. Your intelligence, O Peter, will not understand more than I have explained to you, concerning the mystery of the Trinity and the way to demonstrate it.

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[1] Or: intelligence.

[2] The Ethiopic translator has omitted almost every difficult sentence in this section.

[3] Lit. "the hidden things do not come near us and the concealed things do not reach us."

[4] Read *liya'rifu.*

" 'Then we took parts of those clearest waters and from them we fashioned three heavens of light, and these stand high under the waters on which our throne is situated. As to the light which we created while we were on the water, it is in these heavens; and we are there without ceasing, without changing and without moving from one thing to another, because all things move towards us and everything is in our hand. After we had created the seven firmaments with a sign and not with words, we created seven others with words. Then we placed our wisdom in all things;[2] and no one can number them except ourselves, and no one can comprehend them besides us. We placed the waters in a vessel which surrounds the world,[3] and which is small when compared with our power. We created and fashioned all things in different qualities.

" 'We created the angels in ten hierarchies, constituting complete orders by themselves. We brought down the highest hierarchy which was the tenth in the series, and we confirmed the remaining nine hierarchies. We have made them in different forms in order that each one of them might distinguish the nature of the others, and see[4] clearly that they are different from, and not identical with, his own nature. All of them glorify us. Among the angels are some who have many eyes, and some others who are of a flaming and burning fire; some are of spirit only, and some others of fire and spirit. Their glorification never ceases, and it is composed of different melodies and harmonious modulations which stir the heart. They glorify, chant, sing, magnify, exalt and praise.

" 'Between one order of the angels and another there is a distance similar to that which exists between this heaven which you see and the earth. The number of the angels who have wings and whose glorifications never cease nor end is thousands of thousands and myriads of myriads. Among them are the Cherubim and Seraphim, each one of whom never ceases from glorifying and praising us. All of them are divided into orders in three churches of light and fire. And we have placed the heavenly Jerusalem above the water which is above the third heaven.'"

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[1] Read *al-miyāh* without dots.

[2] This sentence is difficult. Lit.: "in them, from all things to all things." The Ethiopic translator evades the difficulties and translates: "We have established in them, by our wisdom, all the innumerable things" (p. 247).

[3] The Ethiopic text speaks here of a heaven called *Falik* which seems to me to be the Arabic word *falak* "firmament."

[4] Read *wa-ya'lam*.

[1] *With the help of Christ we will describe the heavenly Jerusalem in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit.*

The Church which was beheld by the spiritual father, the Apostle Peter—may the peace of the saints be on his soul in the Kingdom of the Lord, the Saviour of the world and the vivifier of the just men—and about which the Christ our Lord said to Peter: "And we have placed the heavenly Jerusalem above the water which is above the third heaven," overshadows the earthly Jerusalem. It is fixed and suspended above it, its walls are of light, its columns of fire and its doors of light. It is set up in splendour, and its altar is of light of different colours, and its sanctuary is of a light that resembles the colour of fire. All of it is immersed in brightness and light, and crowned with lustre; it is sanctified by the lustre of our grace and surrounded by the brightness of our light and perfumed with the scent of the odour of our divinity.

From it emanate the scents which vivify and sanctify the souls; and the angels of light raise in it their voices, and they never cease from their glorifications. From its altar flow the sources of life, and the choicest of perfumes emanate from it. Glorifications are due to it from the Father,[2] because it is fixed in our Kingdom and is called after our name, and because it surrounds our gates, those majestic gates to which no darkness can attain. At its eastern side we have placed our strength which knows no length, with which no breadth can be measured, which has no height and the immensity (depth ?) of which cannot be ascertained.

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[1] This following heading has been omitted by the Ethiopic translator.

[2] The Ethiopic translator has omitted this and similar sentences which savour slightly of heterodoxy. He seems also to have neglected many phrases, the meaning of which is repeated in the lines that immediately precede or follow.

I have revealed to you, O Peter, what eye has not seen, what ear has not heard, and what has not entered into the heart of the sons of men.[1]

And the Lord from Nazareth said: "We have established our throne above[2] the high waters; we have chosen that place for it and have made it of light, fire, spirit and brightness. We have placed under this throne four creatures which have many eyes and from the mouths of which come flames of fire. One of them resembles the figure of a lion, and another the figure of a man. These are placed on the right side of the throne. The third animal resembles the figure of an eagle, and the fourth animal has a figure that resembles[3] that of an ox. These are placed on the left side of the throne.[4] Each one of these four animals has four faces of fire, and each one of them has wings of fire. Under them is a wheel of fire laid on two seas one of which is of fire and the other of storm, the wind of which blows from the wind of Paradise.

"We have places of delight from which emanate scents that surpass the scent of musk and ambergris. Their scents excel also the scents of all the perfumery of the earth. Above the sea of storms there is a river of light, to the flowing of which there was no beginning and there shall be no end. None of the created beings in heaven and on earth is able to see the place from which it flows,[5] nor the place at which it ends.[6] From it comes to us a light that exceeds in brightness all other lights except our own, and its swiftness and its attributes have no equals. That light is surrounded by darkness which has no brightness in it and which has no end. It has neither vertical nor horizontal angles because it has no material body.

"Everything that we created in heaven and earth glorifies us and offers prayers to us."

In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, we will write the hours of the glorifications.[7]

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[1] 1 Cor. ii. 9.

[2] Read *fauḳ*.

[3] Read *ka'annahu*.

[4] These four creatures seem to be those spoken of in the Book of Rev. iv. 7.

[5] Its source.

[6] Read *nihāyah*, *i.e.* its mouth.

[7] All this section of the horarium is missing in Ethiopic. The hours of the glorification are more or less similar to those which are in the work entitled *Apocalypse of Adam*, sections of which are found in Greek and published by M. R. James in *Texts and Studies*, vol. ii. No. 3: *A Fragment of the Apocalypse of Adam in Greek*. In Syriac a similar Apocryphon has been

Let it be known to you, O Peter, that the first hour of the day is the hour of the glorifications of the children of Adam,[1] and the second hour of the day is the hour of the prayers and the glorifications of the angels.

The third hour of the day is the hour of the glorification of the different kinds of birds.

The fourth hour of the day is the hour of the devotion of the spiritual angels who have six wings because they then come near to our lights.[2]

The fifth hour of the day is that of the services of the rest of the animal world.[3]

The sixth hour of the day is that of the supplication and prayer of the Cherubim.

The seventh hour of the day is the hour of the entry into the lofty Pavilion, the Pavilion of light which created the created beings.[4] Before my incarnation,[5] I the God-Word, and before my taking human form, voices were heard from the Pavilion, which frightened, vexed and harassed those who went into it and those who came out of it. The affairs remained in this state until the God-Word became flesh, and this happened on the day on which the angel of secret came down and spoke[6] to a pure Lady, and a pious gem, Mary, the mother of

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published by M. Kmosko under the title of *Testament of Adam* in *Pat. Syr.*, ii. 1309-1360. The present horarium appears to me to be a translation from Syriac. This is borne out by many stylistic peculiarities, one of which is the constant rendering of "man, men," in general by "son of man, son of men," etc.

[1] In the Syriac *Testament of Adam* (*ibid.* col. 1326) this hour is devoted to the prayer of the "celestial beings." Another recension, however, of the same Apocryphon (*ibid.* col. 1330) assigns this hour to the "prayers of the children of men."

[2] The Syriac *Testament of Adam* (*ibid.*) gives this hour as that of the "thanksgiving of birds."

[3] In the *Testament of Adam* it is the hour of the thanksgivings of the "super-celestial beings."

[4] All the following passage is missing in the Syriac *Testament of Adam* which reads: "The seventh hour is the hour of the ingoing and outgoing to and from God of the prayers of all the living things." The second recension of the same *Testament* (*ibid.* col. 1331) has: "on the seventh hour people go to and come from God."

[5] Read *ta'annusi*.

[6] Read *khāṭaba*. The pronoun attached to this verb denotes an Arabic speaking Syrian, because it is only in Syriac that a pronoun of this kind precedes the noun.

life and mercy, and announced my message to her. In that hour I poured out my eternal light which was with me, in me and on me, and I filled with it the body of that treasure-keeper[1] and devout woman. And I fashioned it in her womb into the figure of a man. I, the speaker, did not make that light for the human race,[2] and I dwelt in it, as I was always dwelling before, and by my power showed it to all the created things.

He[3] became[4] a child,[5] and the angels worshipped Him in the Pavilion of the Father, and He spoke to them and answered them. He was in the arms of Mary and I made Him put on humanity in the robe of Baptism and in the fulfilment of my prescriptions. I did not wish to place Him in this world. I will finish Him and perfect Him.[6] Through my knowledge I have chosen you in preference to the rest of the world and to the exclusion of the nations.[7] And it is I who lifted Him on the wood of the Cross, and it is I who raised Him from the accursed earth. I did not place Him on it except for the purpose of showing Him in it. I am always in Him and I shall raise Him above all my creatures. The Father is in Him along with me, and so is the Holy Spirit. All the spiritual and corporeal beings worship Him now and for ever. Let this be known to you.

The eighth hour of the day is the hour at which the different categories of demons, who have the power to inflict injuries on men and other (material) beings, separate themselves from the animal (world) and pray to the Father, submit to Him and confess to Him the prevarications they had (caused men) to commit. And they give back to Him His supreme command. So also do all those who follow them. When they finish their prayers each one of them goes back to his appointed place.[1]

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[1] Arab. *mukhzinah*. The word is certainly connected with treasure, and it may also mean "treasures," or "giver of treasures," etc.

[2] Or: "at the back, backwards." The meaning of the sentence is unintelligible without emendations.

[3] *I.e.* "that light," according to the construction of the sentence.

[4] Or: "it was."

[5] Read *ṭiflan*.

[6] All this passage seems to savour of Nestorianism and even of gnosticism, in spite of the fact that the MS. is of Monophysite origin. Some sections of the work are archaic and appear to postulate an older layer for the narrative. Many sentences represent also a digression on the part of the writer.

[7] I cannot understand what the author means by the last words, which I have translated literally. All the sentence seems to be a digression from the main subject.

The ninth hour of the day is the hour of the service of the angels who are singled out to stand near the throne of the Father in order to honour it.[2]

In the tenth hour of the day occurs the calmness of the water and its smoothness together with its glorification and magnification before the Omnipotent Lord. And to mark the honour in which God holds water, His Holy Spirit comes down and flutters over it; and it is thus purified from the act of the demons in their going into it and coming out of it. And if the Holy Spirit did not flutter over the water, the children of men would not be able to drink any of it without immediately perishing, owing to its pollution[3] by the demons. If at this hour a man takes water that has been sanctified and mixes with it *ṭaibūth*[4] or oil, and anoints sick people with it, they will be healed by the permission of God.[5]

In the eleventh hour of the day the prayers of the just men, of the prophets and of the Apostles are heard, and their hearts obtain from God a great joy which penetrates and pervades all their being.[6]

The twelfth hour of the day is the hour of the children of men to show obedience to the Most High God, to His Son and to His Spirit. Even if they do not notice it[7] we accept their prayers by our grace and our mercy.[8]

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[1] In the first recension of the *Testament of Adam* (*Pat. Syr.*, ii. col. 1326) the eighth hour is assigned to the "thanksgiving of the fire and the water," and in the second recension (*ibid.* col. 1331) to the "thanksgiving of the heaven, earth and fiery beings" (*i.e.* angels).

[2] Read *wawiḳārihi*. The ninth hour is assigned to the same service in the two recensions of the Syriac *Testament of Adam* (*ibid.* col. 1326 and 1331).

[3] Read *al-mufsidīn*.

[4] A Syriac word designating a mixture of sanctified oil, water and earth of the relics of saints. Great healing properties were formerly attributed to such a mixture.

[5] The tenth hour is assigned to the same object in slightly different and more concise terms in the two recensions of the *Testament of Adam* (*ibid.* col. 1327 and 1331).

[6] The eleventh hour is assigned in different terms to the joy of men in the two recensions of the Syriac *Testament of Adam*.

[7] Lit. "if they do not understand."

[8] The same hour is devoted to the same object but in different terms in the two recensions of the *Testament of Adam* (*ibid.* col. 1327 and 1334).

In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, one God, we will write the glorifications of the hours of the night and their merits.

In the first hour of the night occurs the service of the demons to us, and in this hour of their service they do not harm any man[1] of this world, because they are occupied with their service.[2]

In the second hour of the night occurs the service of large fishes, and of all animals that live in water.[3]

The third hour of the night is the hour of the service of the fire which is at the interior.[4]

In the fourth hour of the night occurs the sanctification of the Seraphim.[5]

In the fifth hour of the night occurs the service of the waters that are above the heaven. They have a tumultuous uproar that pierces the hearts, and are followed by the voices of the angels and the violent agitation of the waves bursting into awe-inspiring glorifications and magnifications.[6]

In the sixth hour of the night the clouds and their angels and the treasured waters[7] offer their supplications.

In the seventh hour of the night the waters rest from their labour and cease from flowing and moving. All the powers of the earth rest also, and glorify and magnify the Lord of the Lords, and say: "Glory to our God *Asharahiyah Sabaoth*,[8] who made Himself manifest in the Person that became incarnate in order to vivify all the created beings."[1]

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[1] Read *aḥadan.*

[2] The same thing is said in different terms in the *Testament of Adam.*

[3] The second hour of the night is assigned to the same object in the second recension of the Syriac *Testament of Adam* (*Pat. Syr.*, ii. col. 1334). The first recension assigns it to the thanksgiving of the doves (*ibid.* 1319).

[4] Something similar but expressed differently and more extensively is found in the two recensions of the *Testament of Adam* (*ibid.* col. 1319 and 1334).

[5] The same hour is assigned to the same object in the two recensions of the Syriac *Testament of Adam.*

[6] Something similar is found in the two recensions of the *Testament of Adam.*

[7] The two recensions of the *Testament of Adam* mention the clouds but omit the waters.

[8] Read *Saba'ut* for *aṣwāt.* Both are of course transliterations of well-known Hebrew words.

In the eighth hour of the night the grass springs up from the earth, which having been pleased by this growth glorifies the One who caused it to grow.[2]

In the ninth hour of the night the service and the devotion of the angels take place, and the prayers are brought in and placed in the Pavilion of Bells.[3]

In the tenth hour of the night the doors of heaven are opened and the prayers of the priests and of the faithful are answered, and their needs attended to. And in this hour you hear the crow of the cock.[4]

In the eleventh hour[5] of the night joy and gladness spread over the earth, because the sun enters Paradise and its rays shine on the corners of the earth and illuminate all the created things, and through their lights trees and fruits rejoice.[6]

In the twelfth hour of the night, which marks the end of the night and the beginning of the day, the children of men pray and burn to the Lord frankincense and other perfumes.[7]

Now I have disclosed to you, O Peter, things you desired to know, and have taught you things you did not know. I shall presently teach you all that which you desire to know and shall not hide a secret from you.

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[1] The two recensions of the *Testament of Adam* speak also of the rest of the water, but they bring in the element of priesthood in connection with the consecrated oil (*Pat. Syr.*, ii. col. 1333 and 1335).

[2] The two recensions of the *Testament of Adam* make mention also of the growth of the grass.

[3] The phrase means "pavilion of bells" if we read the word as *Jalājil* as it is written in the MS., and "pavilion of clamours, etc.," if we read the word as *ghalāghil*. The expression is not used in the *Testament of Adam*, the first recension of which speaks of the "thanksgiving of the Cherubim," and the second recension of the "thanksgiving of all the angels." We may compare the "bells" mentioned here with those spoken of in Zec. xiv. 20, and even those found in Exod. xxviii. 33-39.

[4] In the two recensions of the *Testament of Adam* the crow of the cock is referred to in connection with the ninth hour.

[5] Read *al-hādiyah*.

[6] The same thing occurs in the two recensions of the *Testament of Adam* with the exception that in the first recension (*ibid.* col. 1333) the sun is said to rise from Paradise and not to enter Paradise as it is intimated here and in the second recension of the *Testament*.

[7] Mention is also made of the incense, but in different terms, in the first and second recensions of the *Testament of Adam* (*ibid.* 1336 and 1338). With this hour ends the Syriac *Testament of Adam*. What follows is only found in the present MS.

Let it be known to you that the created things belong to me, and are under my power and in my possession. None of my creatures is able to revolt against me or to serve me except by my will. And the magnifications and glorifications belong to me in conjunction with my Father and my Holy Spirit. Do not be in trouble and do not fear the children of this earth, because I am with you and with all those who will believe in me through you, now, for ever, and for ever and ever.

As to the prayers which you will offer for your own soul make them three prayers. (Let the first be) in the first hour of the day, because that hour is praiseworthy and in it our good-will towards the creatures is made known, as it is in it that the doors of heaven are thrown open and our light is shown[1] to all the earth, and darkness is shut in, and joy and gladness come to all the creatures of the earth.

(Let the second prayer be) in the third hour[2] of the day, because in this hour you should offer (in sacrifice) my body and my blood which I have entrusted to you so that you might keep them and guard them. Let them be as leaven and as a trust committed by me to your charge, which you will deliver to me on the day of my second coming. You will offer them every day, and in this third hour of the day, on the pure altar.[3] Wherever that holy body is found I shall be present there, and the Holy Spirit will come down over it.[4] Let this be known to you, and teach your (spiritual) children to act upon it.

And (let your third prayer be) in the last hour of the day, just before the doors of heaven are closed and darkness overcomes light, because a prayer (in that hour) is heard and accepted.

As to the prayers that have been doubled in the case of the ascetics, monks and solitaries who live in the mountains, hills, deserts and wastes, and in the case of all those who following their examples have separated and singled out themselves from the world, that is to say people whose food we have guaranteed and for whom we have made ourselves responsible[1] in respect of the evil of the worries of this world—let the prayers of such people be in the first hour of the day, with humility, supplication and petition to the Father not to let them enter into temptation, because it was at that hour that the *Archon*[2] fell from heaven.

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[1] Read *yaẓhar.* [2] Read *as-sā‘ at ath-thālithah.*

[3] Read *al-madhbaḥ.*

[4] Allusion to the *epiclesis* or the invocation of the Holy Spirit, which, according to the teaching of the eastern churches, consecrates the Eucharistic elements.

The number of the prayers imposed on the above people is seven. They offer a prayer in the third hour, because it was at that hour that the creation of Adam was perfected, and he lived, offered thanksgiving to the mercy of God and was elevated to the highest order of the orders of Paradise, which the Lord had devoted to the angels that are near to Him[3] before he (Adam) was created.

And in the sixth hour, because in that hour Adam rebelled against His Lord, and by his rebellion he deserved to be driven out of Paradise, because God had warned him that if he rebelled he would surely die.[4] As to his death it took place in two ways: the first was that he was stripped of his kingdom and driven out of the place[5] of rest to the place of wretchedness and toil. The second death was that God the Father decreed in full justice and deprived him of life, and his spirit left his body, and his corpse returned to the bosom of his mother earth.

And in the ninth hour, because in that hour I became aware of the secret of Adam and noticed that he was downcast and dejected on account of the different kinds of remorse that had beset him. His eyes shed tears, when he pondered over his sad plight. He did not see except wild animals in great numbers, which did not draw near to him and show friendliness to him as heretofore, but rather were they fearful of him and in flight from his sight. Eve demanded food from him, and his heart was broken on her account. I had pity on his dejection, his weeping, his complaint and his supplication to me, and I sent one of my angels to teach him agriculture and husbandry in order that he might eat from the fruits of the earth from which[1] he was driven out and to which he would eventually return. If he had not rebelled he would not have gone out[2] to the earth and he would not have tasted death.

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[1] Read *kafaināhum.*

[2] *I.e.* the prince of the fallen angels. I shall keep in the translation this Greek word which is used in the Arabic original.

[3] Arab. *al-mukarribīn.* Said of the angels this word recalls *Ḳur'ān* iv. 170; lxxxiii. 21, etc.

[4] Read *yamūt.* This reading suggests that the original from which the present MS. is derived was written in undotted Arabic characters because it is in Arabic only that the two letters *bā'* and *yā'* have the same form and are only distinguishable by extraneous dots.

[5] Read *mustaḳarr.*

And in the eleventh[3] hour, because in that hour I heard the prayers of Adam and granted him his request. And I gave him my true promise that from his body I will bring forth a man[4] who would bear his sin for him, and then my wrath and anger would not dwell any more in my creation.[5] And I am the one who promised and was promised to him.

And a prayer at the hour of the coming of the night, because in that hour the heavens resound with the voices of the glorifications and sanctifications of the myriads of angels and the myriads of the squadrons of those beings that are near (to God) and of the heads of the Cherubim, who in different musical tunes and modulations inspire with awe all the corners of the abodes of the heavenly beings. If a man makes his devotions in that moment his prayers will be accepted by God.

And a prayer at the time of rising,[6] because it is in that hour that I created light in all heaven in the circles of the full moons,[7] and the higher and lower heavens were illuminated together with the heights of the firmaments. And the firmaments shone, and darkness[8] was hidden in my knowledge. I will send (that light) in the day[9] of the Resurrection to those who dwell in the torments of the abyss,[10] in the lowest depths of the torments of hell.

Let it be known also to you that I have given freedom to my believing peoples in what they desire. Some of them desire circumcision and some of them dislike it. If any of my followers dislike it, it becomes forbidden to him;[11] but if he desires it, it is not his creation.[12] And let him not fear sin from an inward and outward purification by the water of baptism. Forbidden are, however, to my followers all the sacrifices offered by those who contradict my religion like the sons of Kedar,[1] the pagans and the haters of my people, who have not ceased to worship idols and offer sacrifices to them, and like the Samaritans and the ungodly Sabeans.[2] The same applies also to the unholy sacrifices of the Jews, for which I substituted in exchange my flesh which I offered to the Father in expiation of your iniquities, prevarications and sins, and also my blood which I shed on your behalf. I gave them both to you in order that you might receive them and remember me through them as long as this world lasts. And this holy sacrifice came down to you from heaven as grace and mercy in order to deliver you from the wickedness of the Rebel. And this sacrifice is I who am now speaking of it.

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[1] Read *al-lati.* [2] Read *yakhruj.* [3] Read *al-ḥādiyat.*
[4] Read *basharan.* [5] This sentence is somewhat complicated.
[6] Lit. "of sitting."
[7] The astronomical science of the author is sometimes nebulous.
[8] Or: "were purified" or "appeared." [9] Cod. "days."
[10] The Syr. *tehōma.* [11] Read *'alaihi.*
[12] Read *'amaluhu.* The author seems to imply that since circumcision was ordered by God and not by man, anyone who wishes to practise it is at liberty to do so. This is a bold statement on the part of a Christian writer.

None of my followers is allowed to observe the Sabbath or to fast in it, or to honour it, or to exalt it. Anyone who does this rebels against me. Let him rather follow the Canons relating to Sunday and all the prescriptions which I will enjoin on my peoples in respect of the continuous prayers extending from the ninth[3] hour of Saturday, which is the eve of Sunday, to the end of the sixth hour of Sunday, while persevering in an unbroken prayer, in prostration, genuflexion, modesty, humility, and while attending to the needs of every one who is in want, or weak, or poor, or a stranger, or a prisoner, or old and decrepit, or a widow, or an orphan, or hungry, or thirsty, or naked, or shipwrecked, or in distress, or abandoned and known to nobody.

If you do the things that I have ordered you to do I will prolong your lives, multiply your provisions, double your wealth, remove your troubles, guard your souls from all the evil which had prevailed upon you, enhance your prestige in the world, stand by you, care well[4] for you as long as you live, lengthen the fixed time of your death and fulfil the desires of your hearts in respect of your daughters and your sons ; and every good deed which you will perform I will increase it and double it several times for you, and cause it to possess high value. Beware of rebelling against me, because I am a jealous God.[5]

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[1] *I.e.* the Arabs, the Ishmaelites. The allusion here is to Muslim Arabs.

[2] The followers of the somewhat problematical religious sect spoken of in the Ḳur'ān ii. 50; v. 73; xxii. 17.

[3] Read *as-sā'at at-tāsi'ah.*

[4] Read *'ināyah.*

[5] The copyist adds here in Syriac "And pray for me, O brothers."

The Apostle Peter said to his disciple Clement:

And when my Lord had finished what He had wished me to learn He reverted to the subject of the qualities of heaven which He revealed to me and taught me thoroughly. And He said:

We are from ourselves, in ourselves and to ourselves. Magnifications and glorifications are to us. We lack nothing that may be added to us, and we have nothing superfluous that needs to be removed from us.[1] We are the first and the last, and everything is contained in the palm of our hand. It is we who have caused the Cherubim to bear our throne, and created the clouds under our feet, and made them the chariots in which the Cherubim[2] fly on the shoulders of the winds.[3] At a sign from us the earth quakes, the mountains move and the hills shake.

The eyes of the angels do not look at us because they are not able to do so, and so it is with all the hierarchies of the angels.[4] Some of the orders of the angels praise and magnify and some others sanctify and glorify. We have created heads to the angels from the angels, and these serve constantly round our awe-inspiring Pavilion. The name of one of them is Gabriel, and he is the messenger of good news, peace and mystery. The name of another one is Michael, and he is[5] the messenger of anger and war. As to the remaining heads of angels, one of them is called Rudael,[6] and the other Raphael, and they are the messengers of good news. When we wish to do something, none of the angels is aware of it, and none of their heads has any knowledge of our movement.

Their minds do not comprehend us and their sights do not perceive us. We have no first and no last amongst us, and we have no parts and no divisions. Neither the "watchful" angels fathom us nor the "vigilant"[1] ones are aware of what our minds contain. Our mercy averts our anger, and our clemency averts our punishment. No power of our creatures can comprehend us. We do not create to the full measure of our knowledge, nor do we work to the full capacity of our power; we rather work with mercy and love. We produce everything without any fatigue affecting[2] our persons. By our power we render the distant object near, and the near object distant. We see everything and nothing sees us in our essence. Every one of our known attributes is great, especially the attributes of our power.[3] We are in all places, and no place is deprived of us, and we are not that place.

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[1] Here begins again the Ethiopic version of *Qalementos* (in *R.O.C.*, 1912, p. 249). All the above section is missing in it. The precise phrase at which it stopped has been noted above.

[2] Read *al-Karubīyin.*

[3] The Ethiopic translator has misunderstood this sentence which he renders "to crush the wind with their shoulders."

[4] The author uses often the word *nūrāni* in the sense of angels. I take this word to be the Syriac *nūrāne* which means "angels," but while the Arabic word lexicographically means "luminous" from *nūr* the Syriac word means "fiery" from *nūra*. A better Arabic word to translate the Syriac *nūrāna* would be *nāri.*

[5] The Ethiopic translator has twice misunderstood the Arabic *wa-hua* "and he is" which he renders by "that is to say," a meaning which the Arabic pronoun may occasionally have.

[6] The Ethiopic version calls him Uriyal, the traditional Uriel.

We are the cause of salvation and power. Our power extends to all that we have created. We see everything and we hear everything. We are in no need of the glorification[4] of any of our creatures, and it is in order to enhance our grace and our power that we have caused the creatures to glorify us. All our works are executed by our extended motion,[5] because it is extended over everything. All power is derived from our power, and our mercy is higher than all mercy, and our superiority extends over all our creation.

Know, O Peter, that none of the fettered[6] natures of this world knows what I have explained to you concerning our power. Be assured,[7] O Peter, from my actions and my works that I am *Breh d'Alāha ḥayya*[8] which being interpreted means "Son of the living God."

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[1] These words are evidently literal translations of two Syriac vocables referring to angels. The second Arabic word *mutayaḳḳiẓīn* seems to be the translation of the Syriac *‘īre* referring to "angels" in general and to the "vigilant" section of them in particular. The Ethiopic translator has omitted both sentences apparently because of his inability to understand these two important words that they contained.

[2] Read *yadkhul*.

[3] This sentence is difficult to understand. It is not found in the Ethiopic version. I read *yu‘raf* with a *yā’* instead of *na‘rif* of the MS.

[4] Remove the article from the Arabic word.

[5] So the Text.

[6] Here occurs the word *mujaljal* for which I am not able to find a better meaning to suit the context. The sentence is missing in the Ethiopic version.

[7] Read *tayaḳḳan*.

[8] A Syriac sentence which the author evidently considers as a sacred formula. it is of course missing in Ethiopic. See above, p. 192.

And I Peter said: "O my Lord and my God, converse with me fully. I will begin by asking you to reveal to me the condition of the heavenly angels, their different orders and forms, and the days in which they were created; and also the condition of the wind and the way it is governed; and also the condition of the waters and the different orders and forms of (animals) found in them, in order that I may firmly ascertain that you control all the created beings."

And He said to him:[1] O Peter, there is no winter and no summer with me, because I am the God of the winter and of the summer. I am with the Father and the Spirit without separation. It is we who send down the rains and distribute them to all the earth. We drown countries with them, and we make dry lands into seas,[2] and seas and rivers into dry lands. We send a wind from the sea of the storms and it goes out destroying and demolishing many countries and big cities, and breaking up lofty mountains,[3] and making valleys flow with water.

Consider, O Peter, that we are able to send a small fire[4] from the sea of fire which is above heaven, and destroy with it any part of the earth we wish to destroy. Under our power are islands full of fire, from which and in which we have created an animal which neither perishes nor dies as long as he remains in it, but any time he will leave it he will perish. By our power we perform many miracles, and bring up from the earth a small fire which consumes many countries.

It is we, O Peter, who cause the water which is in the clouds to freeze into snow and ice. We rain on perverse towns hail like stones. Consider, O Peter, the different orders of animals which we have created and their numbers, and also the trees and all the plants that we have ordered the earth to produce. O Peter, all (of them) glorify us, and we are glorified by ourselves in ourselves. There is no one inside us who is beside us, and no one of the type you would call "this, then that." And by our power we have created, by a sign and not by words, all that which is material and immaterial, and all that which is corporeal and spiritual, and all that which is corruptible and incorruptible, and all that which is perishable and imperishable, and all things that die and things that do not die. None can number all these besides ourselves.

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[1] The Ethiopic version begins here with this sentence (*R.O.C.* 1912, 250).

[2] Read *abḥāran.* [3] Read *jibālan.* [4] Read *nāran.*

It is we who have lifted up the heavens without columns and constructed them by our power. It is we who have caused the earth to weigh more than other objects so that it does not move, and it neither goes up nor comes down. We have interspersed it with large rivers[1] in order that it may produce corn, vegetation and trees, and we have made it along with the sky the abode of all the birds.

Know, O Peter, that were it not for my incarnation I would not have created Adam and Eve, and I would not have set up the earth nor created the world. O Peter, were it not for my incarnation from the pure Mary I would not have created Adam, nor heaven nor earth. O Peter, if I had not created the created things my pre-existence[2] would not have been made manifest. O Peter, were it not for my incarnation, my majesty and my glory would not have been known. O Peter, were it not for my incarnation you would not have known that my Father created the heavens through me, and that I am in my Father.[3] I have become incarnate in order to quicken and raise the bodies, resuscitate them from their graves and give them eternal life.

Know, O Peter, that when I look into the heart of a man and see it firm in my faith, I manifest myself to him in a human covering, because my Godhead[4] is not seen nor perceived nor comprehended, and has neither quantity nor quality. Because of my love for this world I appeared to its inhabitants[5] in the likeness of their covering in order to draw them to myself, and teach them the glorification of the Father, the knowledge of the Son and the magnification of the Spirit, who creates, gives life to all living beings in heaven and on earth.

Know, O Peter, that I have secrets which I have not revealed to the world and which I shall reveal to you. O Peter, were it not for my love for the world I would not have appeared to them in the flesh.[6] O Peter, were it not for this chosen Virgin I would not have created Eve. O Peter, I answered your question by revealing these secrets to you, because I was aware of your love (for me). O Peter, none of those whom I have created is able to see me in my substance and in the essence of my majesty except the one who has the true faith in me. When I look at such a one's true faith I make myself manifest to him.

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[1] Lit. "seas."
[2] or; pre-eminence.
[3] John xiv. 10.
[4] Read *li'anna lāhūti.*
[5] Read *lahum.*
[6] All this theological passage is missing in Ethiopic.

Then[1] my teacher Peter said to me: O my son Clement, when our God reached here with His conversation, I noticed that He stretched His hand and lengthened His arm to the height of heaven, and He folded the heaven and the earth as parchment is folded, and as one folds the roll of a book. He collected them and placed them in the palm of His hand. Any one of the baptised Christians who does not believe in this and confesses that our Lord is able to do it may the curse of God be on him.[2]

And my Lord said to me: "Bring your ear nearer." And I brought my ear nearer to His hand and I heard in it continuous voices, resounding murmur, exquisite modulations, tumultuous uproar, shoutings, prayers and praises from many people, and a great glory that impressed my soul with the superiority of His might. By His power the palm of His Hand contained all the created things.

Then we proceeded forthwith to a luminous spot which was neither from heaven nor from earth. Then the Christ my Lord and my Saviour said to me: "Where are you, O Peter?" And I answered: "I do not know, O Son of the living God."[3] And the Son of the living God[4] said to me: "Raise your head," and I lifted my head upwards and I saw a pavilion of light round which hung curtains of light immersed in light. When I saw that a great fright and a fearful terror took hold of me, and I fell on my face like a dead man.

Then my Lord took my hand, raised me and said to me: "Do you see and perceive anything resembling heaven or earth?" And I answered: "No, my Saviour." And He said to me: "Look at what there is under you." And I looked and saw a bottomless pit, dark and awful. Then the Son of the living God[5] said to me: "Open your mouth and speak, and your eye and see what there is in the palm of my hand." And I opened my eyes and saw heaven and earth in His hand, together with the sun and the moon. The rivers flowed in it, and the winds were also assembled there. All these, O my son Clement, I saw in the palm of the hand of my Lord, and all of them glorified and sanctified openly. I saw all this not in my dream and not as it was a jugglery but in true reality.

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[1] Here begins again the Ethiopic version.

[2] This phrase is from the Kur'ān ii. 156. It is not found in Ethiopic.

[3] Here also this sentence is in Syriac.

[4] This sentence is as usual in Syriac.

[5] Again in Syriac and again missing in Ethiopic.

Then my Lord uttered words the meaning of which was that everything should revert to its former place and situation. And my Lord caused everything to return to its place. And forthwith I Peter noticed that the earth became firm, that the waters flowed in the rivers, that the overflown rivers emptied themselves into the seas, that the heavens rose upwards, that the stars were on the face of the firmament and the sun and the moon shone with their lights. And we sat [1] as we were previously on the spot on which we were on the Mount of Olives.[2]

Then He said to me: "Look backwards." And I looked backwards and saw Jerusalem. Then the only Son of God said to me: "Know, O Peter, that the heaven and the earth and all that which the Father has created through me do not cease to be in my hand. Any time I will them to be, they are.[3] (Know also) that it is by the power of my divinity that everything is done, and that I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob, who is Israel. The mysteries of my mercy are not known, and not comprehended, and no tongue is able to speak of them. I shall, however, reveal to you those of them that I know your mind and intelligence can comprehend, because I have given you the keys of the heavens and of the earth, and have shown you [4] their doors so that you might open them and close them at your will."

And I prostrated myself before my Lord and my God, worshipped before Him and said: "O Son of the living God, do not hide from me anything that I do not know, and that of which I have no knowledge I want you to teach me."[5] And He said to me: "I am the beginning and I am the end, I kill and I make alive, I wound and I heal.[1] I am in the Father and in the Spirit, and the Spirit and the Father are in me. We are oneness in Trinity, and Trinity in oneness. O Peter, the heaven is my throne and the earth is my footstool, and who can stand against me?

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[1] Read *julūsan.*

[2] The author writes *zaita* with an *Aleph* in the Syriac fashion.

[3] Read *fatakun* for *fayakun.* This also proves that the original from which this Garshūni text is derived was in undotted Arabic characters, because it is only in Arabic characters that the letters *yā'* and *tā'* are graphically similar and distinguishable only by extraneous dots placed above or under the letters.

[4] Read *araituka.*

[5] The questions of Peter are often missing in Ethiopic.

"I created Adam in order to set him against the accursed Rebel of this world. From the time Satan fell from his rank in heaven he has not been able to perceive my glory as he used to do previously. It is for this Mary, the chosen one, that I have created the world, fashioned Adam from earth and made him in my image. I breathed into him the breath of life and fashioned in him a spiritual soul which is without body,[2] of medium size, simple,[3] incorruptible and resembling the angels in its essence.[4]

"O Peter I have revealed to you that I am the Son of God[5] and made you understand that I am His only Son. I said in former days, and I believe that it was to Jacob, son of Isaac,[6] that Israel is my son.[7] I did not say that Israel *is* my son in the sense of the son of my substance; I said this simply because of his belief in me. And I also said that he is the 'first-born,' in the sense that he was the first of the descendants of his father to believe in me. The term of a 'first-born' son in a family implies that there are brothers that were born after him, and that he is the first of them in birth. If no brothers are born after him, he is called an 'only son' and not a 'first-born' because his father[8] and mother have no other son besides him. As to the 'Only Son,' O Peter, the Father has already shown you His attributes.[9]

"O Peter, I created the land of Eden at the time I created the angels. I placed it in the land of the Tigris, which became afterwards the land of the exile, and it is the land of the Kingdom of Heaven.[1] I did this in order that Eden might become the house of my mercy. I placed Paradise below my Kingdom, and in it is found my majesty. I planted in it a spiritual[2] tree which is higher than this visible earth by fifteen cubits of the size of the cubit of the Holy Spirit."

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[1] Deut. xxxii. 39. The expression "I wound" is translated into Arabic by "I strike" which is a literal translation of the Syriac *māḥe-na* which means both "I strike" and "I wound." The Ethiopic translator finding that "I strike" gave no good meaning rendered it by "I render people sick" in order to answer the idea of healing that follows. This proves that the Ethiopic is a translation from Arabic.

[2] Read *mutajassimah.* [3] Read *basīṭah.*

[4] All the above passage is missing in the Ethiopic version which begins here with the following sentence.

[5] The words "Son of God" are in Syriac.

[6] Rather unseemly on the part of God to be in doubt.

[7] Exod. iv. 22. [8] Read *li'abīhi.*

[9] All this theological passage which is missing in Ethiopic (*ibid.* p. 337) seems to be a digression from the main subject.

And I the feeble Peter said to my Master: "My God and my Saviour, what are the dimensions of the cubit of the Holy Spirit?" And He answered: "Its measure is like the measure of my hand and my arm which I stretched on the wood of the Cross." And He added: "And the measure of that is like the distance that separates the east from the west.

"O Peter, I planted the spiritual tree in Paradise and caused it to bear holy fruits copiously in order that my glory and my praise might be completed. O Peter, I made this Paradise in the image of the wonderful Church which[3] I have prepared in heaven for[4] the marked virgins.[5] It is from there that the *Archon* has been driven out. The length and breadth of this Church are like the length and breadth of the Paradise of Eden,[6] which I have established for the spiritual prisoners[7] of the children of Adam. I gave precedence to the (good) malefactor who was crucified with me. He went to Paradise before me in order to announce to its inmates that I had gone from the earth to the Father. And you, O Peter, will soon witness my Ascension to heaven. I have revealed to you the secrets for which you have asked me, and I will reveal to you those for which you will ask me, because I have ordered you to ask me and I shall give you, to knock and I shall open to you."[8]

A Chapter on the subject of the Angels, who they are and what are their forms and their attributes.

Then I prostrated myself before my Lord and said to Him: "You know the degree of my love to you and of my faith in you. You have made known to me your great glory and your sublime majesty and have given me all that I had asked of you. You have shewn me the attributes of the angels with their different orders and their forms; tell me now: Have they all of them a human form, or are they in the form of a shadow? Have they length and breadth? I cannot understand how a being which has no body can speak. Where is also the place that can contain them? Did you create them at the moment you created the heaven and the earth? And then in which hour did you create them, and in which day and in which month?

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[1] or: of heaven.

[2] Read *shajaratan.*

[3] Read *al-lati.*

[4] Read *lil-abkār.*

[5] *Cf.* Rev. xiv. 4.

[6] Lit. "Eden of Paradise."

[7] *I.e.* the good people of the Old Testament who were imprisoned in Hades. The word is missing in the Ethiopic version presumably because the translator was not able to read it in undotted Arabic characters or to translate it.

[8] Matt. vii. 7.

"Tell me also what is going to happen to them after the Resurrection. Have they sinned and have they had a sinful thought since you created them? Have they the faculty of hearing and seeing? Do they move about? Have they identical forms and a uniform glorification or different glorifications? How can voices come out of them while they have no bodies? Where is in them the faculty of speech while they have no tongue?"

And the Son of the living God[1] said to me: "O Simon, you have asked me about something which your mind cannot understand. Know that I am going to dictate to you the things only which your mind can grasp to the exclusion of what (human) intelligence is unable to comprehend.

"The first month that I created is April and the first day that I created is Sunday, and in the first hour of it I created heaven and all the angels that it contains. Know that I have not imparted to Moses in the matter of the history of the creation what I am imparting to you. In the second hour of Friday I caused the *Archon* to stumble and made him fall from his heavenly order because I was aware of what he was thinking within himself to the effect that he desired to possess a Kingdom like mine.[2] I made him a stranger to his glory and an alien to his high order because of the pride and arrogance in which he indulged within himself."

And I Peter said to Him: "O my Lord and my God, why did you create him knowing previously that you were going to make him Satan at his rebellion against you?"[3] And the Lord and Saviour said to me: "If I had to create people only after examining through my prescience their future actions, I would not have created anybody at all. Through my foreknowledge and prescience I knew that this *Archon* was going to rebel against me. I created him, however, in order that other angels and other beings, seeing the kind of punishment inflicted on him by me,[1] might think carefully within themselves and not rebel against me in that through which Satan fell. He had freewill in his action and was in no way compelled to revolt. If I had induced him to revolt, he would not have deserved to be punished nor to be degraded from his rank. With his own freewill he cherished this sin and thought[2] of establishing for himself a throne, glory and majesty.

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[1] This sentence is as usual in Syriac and missing in Ethiopic.

[2] Lit. "like my king" or "like my Kingdom."

[3] The Ethiopic translator renders this sentence erroneously: "knowing that you would place Satan in his rebellion" (*R.O.C.*, 1912, 338).

"What he was going to do did not escape me before I created him, and I created him with love and mercy, but when he rebelled against me after I had exalted him, I degraded him from his high rank and made him a stranger on the earth and a despised person, banished from my grace. O Peter, when I created him to life[3] I created him with mercy, and endowed him with freewill. I have not created any being without previously knowing what he will do after his creation. O Peter, after I had removed the *Archon* from my grace with which I had invested him, I resolved to fill his place with pure and pious beings fit to be spiritual and (children) of light.

"The remaining hierarchies of the angels still occupy the same position to which I have assigned them. The creatures that in my foreknowledge I had resolved to create I created, and I was not precluded from creating them through ulterior motives, and was not influenced in my actions by the revolt of a creature and the obedience of another creature, and so my first resolve was never affected and there was no contradiction in my actions.[4] I created everything with my knowledge and my love, and my creation was completed without any trammels, and in it were gathered my science and my love according to my will.

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[1] The Ethiopic translator wrongly renders: "in order that he may be corrected by the punishment that I would inflict on him."

[2] Read *wa-fakkara*.

[3] Lit. "from the animals." The phrase which should possibly be read *lil-ḥayāt* is omitted in Ethiopic.

[4] I translated the above sentence somewhat freely. It is missing in Ethiopic.

"I created him with my love knowing through my prescience that he would be a demon, but he was like the other angels who were, according to my will, capable of obeying me or revolting against me. I had made him an *Archon* and the Chamberlain of my dwelling in the heights,[1] because I knew that no other angels of the hierarchies of angels will rebel against me; and I had placed him in a rank higher than that of the remaining angels, because knowing in my prescience that these will not revolt, he will have at his revolt no excuse and say: 'I rebelled against you because you have placed some of my colleagues in a rank higher than mine, and in my revolt against you I aimed at a higher honour.' In this he would have had some pretext which would have given him an excuse for his revolt.

"He was nearer to me than all other hierarchies, because he was near to the Pavilion of Light,[2] at the entrance of the Canopy, and he was holding the cords of the veils of my grace, and receiving (for the purpose of presenting them to me) the glorifications of the hierarchies that were under him. As I have already told you I had created him in the first hour of Sunday, and he fell from his rank in the second hour of Friday.

"And Gabriel was the lowest of the hierarchies of the angels, but in my prescience I knew that he would be the head of the angels. I did not make him their head when I created him in order that he might be ignorant of my will, and my will is that my works shall be done with my love and my justice.[3] When the demon fell Gabriel took his place, and I made him the head of all the angels and placed him near the Pavilion of Light and the veils of mercy. I singled him out as my messenger, and made him the revealer of my secrets to all heavenly[4] armies, and also the head of the waters, and entrusted him with the task of bringing good news and peace. And I made Michael the head of power and might, and of anger and wrath. As to Rudael and Raphael I entrusted them with the task of announcing[5] the resurrection. As to Mary, the mother of mercy, her place in heaven is near the Canopy.

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[1] Read *al-'ula*. This sentence is missing in Ethiopic.

[2] The expression "pavilion" of light, etc. (Arab. *Kubbah*) is generally translated in Ethiopic by "throne" (in Arab. *Kursi*) and thus the translator misses entirely the idea of the "holy of holies" in the seat of the Deity.

[3] This sentence is difficult to translate and my translation of it is not certain. The Ethiopic version reads: "because all my work is justice, uprightness and mercy."

[4] Read *as-samāwiyin*. [5] Remove the articles in the text.

"O Peter, the Church which I established before the eons and the times near the door of my Pavilion, and which is called 'the Church of the faithful virgins,' I created it as a dwelling to those who believe in me. As to you, O Peter, guard my Church and what I confided to you. O Peter, I gave you the keys of pardon and the keys of the Kingdom. Heaven and earth obey your command, and the angels submit to your words and do not disobey you. O Peter, there was no beginning before I created everything in heaven and on earth, and everything that I created is liable to dissolution.

A Chapter on the sin of Adam and how he transgressed the Commandment.

Then I Peter said: "O Son of the living God,[1] why did you create Adam knowing that he would rebel against you, and why did you place him on the earth after he had transgressed your commandment?"

And the Saviour said to me: "I have already given you the answer to your question in what has preceded." Then he added: "I will reveal everything to you. I was[2] able in my grace to create Adam in a state that was angelic, simple, spiritual and immortal, but I created in heaven what I wished to create, and then I assembled the four elements and from them I created Adam in order that he might know that I control all the elements. I created Adam as a ruler over the earth. In my prescience I knew that he would rebel against me, but I created him with love, as previously asserted, and I caused him to die by my will.

"You know, O Peter, that when a husbandman casts his wheat into the earth he sorrows lest it should perish there, but when his grain yields fruits thirty-fold, sixty-fold, or a hundred-fold,[3] he rejoices at the yield of his crops and forgets his first sorrow over his wheat. Likewise I mercifully saved Adam from death when I created him, but when he rebelled against me, his death did not cause me any trouble or sorrow, because from his posterity would rise, good, pious, righteous and upright[4] people till the end of the world, in order that from them I might fill the hierarchy from which Satan had fallen.[5]

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[1] As usual this sentence is in Syriac.

[2] Add *kuntu*.

[3] Matt. xiii. 8.

[4] Read *wāsiṭīn*.

[5] Read *sakaṭa*.

"O Peter, know that I created Adam living and mortal, gave him freewill[1] and enjoined obedience on him. I warned him against rebellion, made him understand everything, and said to him: 'I have bestowed favours on you and made you a father. I have given you freewill and made you understand good from evil. Do not strive after the lordship that the *Archon* sought, and because of that he fell. Do not eat from the tree which yields the fruit of death, because if you eat from it you will die, and if you transgress my order I will deprive you of the Eden of delight, and banish you. If you do not contravene my orders and do not eat from that tree, I will not cause you to die, and you will live for ever.'

"O Peter, had I not known that Satan wished to deceive Adam and incite him to revolt, I would not[2] have warned him against rebellion and I would not have admonished him as I did. It is because I knew that he would transgress my commandment that I created him mortal and immortal, and I infused the earth from which I had created him with fire and spirit. If he had kept my order to him and acted upon it he would not have died. He was endowed with two natures one spiritual and the other earthly and mortal, but when he rebelled against me I ordered death for the earthly and mortal nature.[3]

"O Peter, I have already told you and I now tell you that I created Adam because of my incarnation, and I will return Adam to Paradise in the body which he had when he was driven out of it. Know, O Peter, that I have special secrets which minds cannot comprehend and which I do not wish to reveal to mankind."

When the Christ spoke to me thus I worshipped before Him and implored Him and said to Him: "O Son of the living God,[4] show me the different orders of the angels. You know that I have a desire to know this." And He said to me: "Yes; O Peter. Know that the orders of the angels are numerous and do not resemble one another. Some of them have four faces and some of them are all faces. Some of them have many eyes, and some of them are all eyes. Some of them possess a light that is more dazzling than the light of the sun, and some of them have human faces; some of them have four wings with which to fly, and some of them have six wings, and some of them are all wings.

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[1] The Ethiopic translator often omits the translation of the word *istiṭā'ah* which in the next text means "free-will." He evidently did not understand its meaning.

[2] Read *lam*.

[3] The Ethiopic translator has misunderstood this passage, because immediately after having spoken of the second nature of Adam which is immortal ends by saying: "I brought death against his spiritual nature" (*ibid.* p. 341).

[4] This sentence is as usual in Syriac and is omitted in the Ethiopic version.

"Each one of these orders has names by which it is known, and they are: the Angels, the Archangels, the Thrones, the Princedoms, the Virtues, the High Dominations, the awe-inspiring Powers, the Cherubim who have many eyes and who bear the throne of my honour,[1] and the Seraphim who have six wings. They are nine hierarchies[2] and between one hierarchy and another is a distance similar to that which exists between you and heaven, O Peter. Between one hierarchy[3] and another is a sea of dazzling light in order that through it the hierarchies may look at one another. All of them glorify my name because by my power I created speech in their mouths, and from all of them magnifications come forth. Each one of them has special magnifications and a special tongue in which to glorify. Some of them praise, some of them sanctify, some of them magnify, some of them give thanks, some of them glorify and some of them sing. This is what they do and they will do till the end of the world.

"I did not create them because I needed their praises, but because I wished to favour them with my grace. Before I created the creatures I was being glorified within myself,[4] and when I created the angels I gave to each one of their orders a praise of a particular kind, through which to glorify me in a way different from the others; and I favoured them with the glorification of my majesty in order that they might praise what is eternally with me by means of their sweet modulations and their bright, spiritual, exquisite, refined and delicate voices, because they are luminous and spiritual heads.[5]

"All the hierarchies are devoid of bodies and are simple and not composite. When a company of them descend from heaven to this earth, no corporeal being feels them, no man sees them and no one with material senses is conscious of their presence; and they are not perceived with the minds and the eyes of a seer, and the sound of their flying is not heard by a hearer. They are more agile than winds and swifter than the air. Some of them do not leave my Pavilion, and some of them I despatch to announce my mysteries, and some of them are charged with the care of those who are baptised in my name and in the name of my persons who are Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.[1] The man who is baptised in my name I give to the charge of two angels, one of whom is on his right and the other on his left, and they guard him against all harm and preserve him from all evil. As to the sons of perdition, O Peter, I withdraw from them my grace and my pardon."

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[1] *auḳār* is the Syriac word *īḳāra*.

[2] Read *taghmātuhum*.

[3] Lit. "town."

[4] The text adds "to myself."

[5] Lit.: "because they are heads of illumination and spirituality." The Ethiopic translator omits almost every difficult sentence in this section.

A Chapter on the subject of Paradise, and the nature of the tree from which Adam ate.

When I Peter heard this I worshipped Him and said to Him: "O you the only Son of God,[2] who came to the world in order to save its inhabitants, disclose to your servant the subject of Paradise. Is it situated on the earth as has been said or in heaven? What kind of a tree was the one which had in it good and evil and the fruits of which you forbade Adam to eat? What kind of a tree was the one from which he wished[3] to eat? What is the tree of life? What is the cause of Adam and Eve desiring after their transgression to cover themselves in Paradise with the leaves of fig-trees? Does the light of the sun and the moon penetrate into Paradise? Has it night and day, or food and drink? Does it contain trees like the trees of this world and fruits like the fruits of this earth? Has it cold and heat, or hunger and thirst?[4] Are those who inhabit it in need of garments? Does it possess elevated and fortified buildings? Whence flow the four rivers of water which flow in this world, and how do they come out of Paradise? Which is the higher, the Kingdom of Heaven or Paradise? What are the length and breadth of Paradise? Will it end at the end of this world?"

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[1] This sentence is wholly in Syriac.

[2] This sentence is again in Syriac.

[3] Read *aḥabba.*

[4] Read *'atashun.*

The Answer to the Question.

And the Christ said to me: "How careful you are to learn my secrets!"[1] And then the Saviour added: "Know, O Peter, that we created Paradise from the Eden of delight, and placed it in Eden after we had fixed the earth and lifted up the firmament.[2] There is no darkness in Eden, as there is in the firmament and on the earth, but it is bright and shining. It is high above this earth like the distance which separates the east from the west. It has together with Paradise three doors. I placed the first door, which is the highest, on the door of the sepulchre from which I rose, and it is called the burying-ground, and it is the burying-ground of the body which I put on from Adam. From it I hear and answer the prayers that are addressed to me because I did not become incarnate except to hear the prayers of those who are in need and to satisfy their wants.

"The second door of Paradise looks upon and overshadows the *Mountain of Zaité*,[3] which is the Mount of Olives. O Peter, while you are now sitting on this mountain, you are sitting under that door.[4] The Third Door of Paradise looks upon Mount Sinai.

"As to Paradise it is situated under our Throne itself, towards the east, and the light that comes out of that door and out of Paradise excels the light of the sun, and it possesses exquisite perfumes the like of which the earth does not possess. And the Garden of Eden is the dwelling place of the angels who glorify and magnify.[5]

"As to the four rivers that come out of Paradise and flow on the earth, they are from the water which is under the throne of majesty. I made this water into four streams, which after having been agitated[6] by the wind,[7] flow very rapidly and traverse the land of Eden, and exhale into it that sweet and exquisite scent which it possesses. From the Garden of Eden they flow into this earth and irrigate its soil. O Peter, any one whom I render worthy of perceiving the odour of Eden and of seeing its brightness is no more in need of food and drink, and becomes immune against cold and heat; his face shines also with its light, and his passion, that is to say the passion of the pleasures of this world, dies out of him through the exquisiteness of its perfume, because he acquires some of the qualities of the Garden of Eden.

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[1] Lit. "keep." The Ethiopic translator renders: "Why do you desire to fathom my mystery?" (*R.O.C.*, 1912, 343).

[2] Lit. "heaven."

[3] Written in Syriac.

[4] Lit,: "on which you are now sitting under it."

[5] The Ethiopic version identifies here the trees with the angels. This identification is found below in our MS.

[6] Read *biha*.

[7] Is it the "sea of storm" spoken of above?

" As to the trees they are the angels who glorify but not like the trees of this world, and never cease their glorifications. As to the tree which was in the middle of Paradise and from which was composed the knowledge of good and evil, I am that tree.[1] O Peter, your Father Adam did not seek that tree from which I had forbidden him to eat except to become a God[2] in his essence like me. Because he did not keep my commandment his design was frustrated. Then I took from him the pleasure that I had given him, because he imitated Satan and did the work[3] of that Rebel.[4]

" And he ate of the fruit of the tree which I had forbidden, and when he tasted it the thought[5] of concupiscence came to him, because the tree bore the fruits of death. He deserved death for two reasons, the first of which is that he desired to be a God, and this is a thing which can never be done ; and the second is that he transgressed the commandment. After I had warned him he[6] was no more an ignorant man, because an ignorant man who transgresses a commandment does not deserve punishment. He was, on the contrary, an intelligent man and a wise man, and from the wisdom which I had created in him he had invented names to all created things.

" Know, O Peter, that the trees[7] which are in Paradise are the angels whom I have placed there, and that the tree which is in the middle of it are we ourselves, because we are the knowers of good and evil. I am, O Peter, the tree[8] of life and mercy, and whoso eats of my fruits shall live for ever. The Father is the tree of justice, I am the tree of mercy and the Spirit is the tree of life.

" As to Paradise, O Peter, neither darkness can prevail against it nor light can penetrate into it, because its land is luminous and arrayed in brightness while its perfumes are unequalled. Anyone who breathes its air shall live an eternal life and shall not taste death, because it is sanctified by the glorifications of the spiritual beings;[1] and anyone who dwells in it shall not meet with any harm. It is not defiled by any defilement, and no unbeliever dwells in it. Service is never at an end either in it or in the heavenly Jerusalem which is above Paradise, and it has neither night nor day. It is from the light and the brightness of Paradise that the sun has obtained its light, and the brightness which is caused by its light and its rays cannot be paralleled in this world. No created being can describe it, but[2] my power and the brightness of my light surpass it.[3] And the trees came into being and were planted in the newly created earth[4] through the breeze of Paradise.

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[1] The Ethiopic version has : " I myself know that tree."

[2] Read *ilāhan.*

[3] The author uses here the pronoun expletively before the subject to which it belongs, according to the method used only in Syriac and never in Arabic.

[4] Read *marīd* for *madīd.*

[5] The author erroneously uses the Arabic word *fikr* in feminine, under the influence of the Syriac *maḥshabtha.*

[6] Read *fa'innahu.*

[7] Read *al-ashjār.*

[8] Read *shajarat.*

"I caused my grace to descend upon it, remain in it and fill it, and I prepared it for people who would inhabit it through the merits of their good work. O Peter, my grace is in Paradise, and I placed it below my Kingdom, and I caused the light that[5] is in it to stretch out from the light of my Kingdom. This Paradise, O Peter, is prepared for people who are worthy of it. It contains neither winter nor summer nor the perishable concupiscence of this world. It has neither food nor drink, because its breeze satisfies the souls. The dwellers therein have no sinful thought[6] nor do they delight in sin.[7] There is in it no hunger and no thirst, and its inmates are in no need of garments since there is in it no shame of nudity.

"As to your question, O Peter, concerning the covering with which your father Adam and your mother Eve covered themselves, it was their hands, because it is with them that they covered themselves when they were stripped of light which was their garment[8] in consequence of their disobedience. The subject of Paradise, O Peter, is[9] marvellous and full of high signs, but the Kingdom of Heaven is greater, higher and more sublime than it. Anyone who is worthy of the Kingdom of Heaven first goes to the pleasures of the gardens of Paradise, and afterwards is taken up and raised to the Kingdom of Heaven, which is near our abode and which is infused with our grace; and this abode is the majestic Pavilion which overlooks all the dwellings of the people of Paradise. And the Kingdom of Heaven has neither a limited length nor a circumscribed breadth, and it has no end and no dissolution.

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[1] Lit. "winds." This may denote a Syriac *rūḥa* which signifies both "wind" and "spirit."

[2] Codex: because.

[3] or: "are above it".

[4] *Sic. cod.* or: "in the marshy places of the earth" if we read *ghadīr*.

[5] Read *al-ladhi*.

[6] Read *yufakkirun*.

[7] Probably: sin of lust.

[8] Read *libāsahumā*.

[9] Read *kānat*.

"Know, O Peter, that it possesses many doors, beautiful mansions and delightful places, devoted to the prophets and the just men, who are in separate dwellings which are pure, holy, sublime and arrayed in light. When I came down from heaven to earth I prepared those dwellings for the souls of the just men, and they are now assigned to them. I gave you the keys of all of them when I gave you the keys of the heavens and appointed you vizier. I placed them all[1] in your hands and made you the master of the house by whose permission every one has to enter.

"As to the believers[2] who follow me and are baptised in my name; who confess my faith before those who hate me and despise me; who keep my praiseworthy commandment and well-defined orders; who avoid sins and iniquities, and reject those crimes that I have forbidden at all times: their abode shall be in the city of peace, and I will shower on them favours the pleasures and happiness of which have no end."

When my Lord and Saviour reached this point[3] in His speech, I Peter worshipped before Him and said to Him: "Have pity on your servant and allow him to speak." And Christ said to me: "Ask what you wish, O Peter." I then asked about something and then refrained, and said: "No, O my Lord." And He said: "I shall not refuse your demand; say, therefore, what your wish, O Peter."

A Chapter on the different ranks of the believers, of the just men and of the prophets and others.

And I said to Him: "O Son of the living God,[4] you have helped me your servant in what I had asked. Disclose to me now the state of the just men, the prophets and others who believe in you; and what will happen to them before your second coming at the end of the

[1] Read *jamīʿaha.*

[2] Read *al-mu'minūn.*

[3] Read *hādha.*

[4] This sentence is as usual in Syriac.

world." And my Saviour said to me: "I shall grant you, O Peter, what you asked for, and disclose to you the ranks of the prophets, the just men and others who will believe in me, after my ascension from the earth to the heavenly abode of my glory and my majesty."

[1] *Here ends the Speech of the Lord of Lords to the pure and distinguished Father. God suffices me, and I solicit the help of His Son who keeps His promises.*

In the name of the Father, of the Son and of the One who proceeds, one God in three (persons) I will write the second Part, full of meanings, in which figures Simona, son of Jona.[2]

In the name of the Son of the Omnipotent God I will write in this sublime book what the glorious Peter narrated to us from the mouth of the Mighty God.

And the great, honoured and holy chief, the Father, the Disciple and the Apostle said to me Clement:[3]

(And the Lord said to me): "O Peter, prepare labourers, dig wells[4] and fill them to the brim with the spiritual water which I entrusted to you. Strengthen their foundations and construct one wall towards the land and the other towards the water. Open my treasures and my granaries and sow wheat in all lands. Water it to the full, and I will make it grow, and will guard it, strengthen it and bless it in order that my sheep, my rams and my lambs may eat[5] it and live for ever.[6] My sheep are waiting for my voice because they recognise it, and they will answer it and follow me. I sent you to be their shepherd because I was aware of your pity for them. They are thirsty, hungry and humble sheep, which will follow the shepherds that I will choose for them. They are assembled now in my fold where they are worshipping and praying. If you mention my name to them they will come out forthwith to be branded with my mark, and I will protect them by my power, and no one will be able to take them from me.[1] I will give them eternal life in the Kingdom of the Garden of Eden, and promise them that they will be on my right in the day of the Resurrection and that they will rejoice with me for ever and ever."

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[1] All the following introductory passage has been added by a copyist and is written in rhymed prose. All the passage is missing in Ethiopic.

[2] *I.e.* Simon son of Jonas. The copyist writes the name of Simon as *Simona* for the sake of the rhyme with Jona (Jonas).

[3] Codex: "Peter" *ex errore.* [4] Codex: "rivers."

[5] Read *liya' kulūha.*

[6] All the following pages are written in a rhymed prose which points to an undoubted Arabic original for the narrative. As in a composition of this kind more importance is attached to the happy and elaborate choice of lexicographical terms than to the general meaning of sentences, I will only give a rough translation of this section. I will point out below where this rhymed prose ends. It is needless to add that it is completely missing in the Ethiopic version, the translator of which has satisfied himself with about a third of a page of the *R.O.C.*, *ibid.* p. 345. I cannot decide whether such a section was found in the MS. lying before the Ethiopic translator. *Cf.* my note in my *Woodbrooke Studies*, i. 101. I believe that this section is of a later date than what has preceded, and that the original text was much shorter than the one given here.

Then Jesus Christ of Nazareth said to me: "The abode of the pious people who are baptised in my name and who believe in me and repent before their death, will be in Paradise which I have planted in the Eden of delight, and they will rejoice there for ever and ever. As to you my disciples, who have left everything in the world even your fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters and followed me at the cost of your life, I will bestow on you gifts which will astound men and Satan: I will appoint each one of you as head of a nation, grant you the gift of my miracles, and of my knowledge, and send you to convert the world. If you do my will, I will have churches and shrines built under your name, and your tombs will heal people and comfort them in their troubles. They will seek your intercession, and I will answer their prayers for your sake.

"After you have risen from your graves in the day of the Resurrection you will judge the twelve tribes of the wicked and accursed nation, and I will place in your golden mouths words of wisdom which will inflict summary punishment on faithless and unjust servants.[2] And you will have peace and joy near me and in the company of my angels in the land of light and might where you will magnify and glorify me for ever and ever.

"As to my priests who sanctify my blood and my body; who offer their prayers to me in the appointed hours; who follow my law and my Canons; who keep their hearts pure; who love their fellow men, avoid sin, and stand against evil and evildoers: their abode shall be in places full of light which look up on flowering gardens with flowing rivers, and clusters of trees and fruits.[3]

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[1] *Cf.* John x. 1-27.

[2] *Cf.* Matt. xix. 28-29.

[3] It is impossible not to think here of the heaven of the Ḳur'ān.

"As to the scholars and wise men who have suffered persecution for their obedience to my will; who have demonstrated my faith publicly upon the hills of the world; who have borne patiently the injuries inflicted on them by the children of the tares; who have refuted the objections of the sons of the world; who have kept my commandments and made gains with my talents: I will bestow benefits upon them, forgive their sins, have mercy upon them, remove their sorrows from them and place them in mansions full of eternal joy and delight.

"As to the children of the Church and the heads of the law, who handle the spiritual mysteries; who strive to increase for themselves the Lord's[1] gains and serve the Lord's houses; who avoid the sins of the body and shine with the qualities of the heart—I mean the priests and the deacons, who fear me and keep my commandments—I have prepared for them gorgeous garments and diadems, and I will place them in the mansions of heaven which overlook the sufferings of the abyss, in order to double in that day[2] their joy and their pleasures.

"As to the main body of the faithful who have suffered persecution for my sake and stood firm against the injustices of the children of the tares; who have been baptised and have kept my commandments; who have professed my faith in the tribunals of the pagans, who believe themselves to be of noble extraction: I will purify them from their sins and place them on my right, in order that the onlookers may know[3] that they are not of the people with whom God is angry nor of those who go astray.[4] And they will be like the angels of heaven, deprived of their base and earthly body. They will be swift in their movements, pure and endowed with knowledge. I will charge some of them with my messages, and some others will be entrusted with the calamities which I will inflict on my earth, while some others will control the clouds and some others the winds. Everyone of them has a mansion prepared for him before his creation, because he has kept my commandments and has not imitated Adam and the *Archon* in their revolt against me, but has confessed my grace."

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[1] A transliteration of the Syriac *mārānāya.*

[2] Read *yauma'idhin.* It is rather cruel to experience especial joy at the sight of other peoples' sufferings.

[3] Read *liya'lamu.*

[4] Ḳur'ān i. 6. This is against the Muslim commentators who hold that the Ḳur'ānic sentence "those who go astray" refers to Christians.

Then[1] my Lord turned right and left, and He was transfigured and His face became suffused with light and beauty. I saw thousands and myriads of angels round Him and I was bewildered and awe-struck by their majesty, but my Lord strengthened my heart after I had confessed that He was my God and my Lord, and He said to me: "O Peter, do not be deceived by the image of these spirits. I wished to show them to you in order that you may know that I am their Lord and their God." Then I genuflected before Him, prostrated myself before His feet and said: "I have ascertained that you are the hidden Lord and that you are God and the Omnipotent Son of God, high in glory and majesty."

After I had uttered this confession before those pure spirits He made a sign to two angels to take charge of me,[2] and they removed me from His presence in order to show me the might of His power. One of them opened one of the doors of hell,[3] and I saw in it an accumulation of cold, blood and fire. Then that angel looked at the earth and a third of it was consumed together with the third part of its trees and vegetation. Then I saw the other angel opening a door that was like a large mountain, and he ordered me to observe what was there. And I saw fires that burned, bodies that shook, sighs that mounted, and an uproar that kept alternately diminishing and increasing.

Then (the first) angel under whose care I was placed looked at the sea, and a third part of it became blood, and a third part of the animals found in it perished, and a third part of the vessels that were moving on it sank in its depths.[4] And the star called *Aḳsīmīs* appeared to me, and enlightened the third part of the sea, and I saw many people rising on their feet from the fear (that overtook them) at the fall of that star.

Then one of the angels opened a door which darkened a third part of the sun, a third part of the moon, a third part of the stars, a third part of the day and a third part of the night. After this he opened the door of the abyss,[5] which emitted a terrific heat and a vapour with a putrid odour, which obscured the light of the sun.

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[1] From the following passage the text ceases gradually to be in rhymed prose, and I will translate it in the usual way.

[2] Read *waja'a!ahumā*.

[3] Lit. "suffering."

[4] See the Book of Rev. viii. 9.

[5] Read *tahūm*. It is the Syriac *tehōma*.

Then I saw coming out of there, and flying like birds, locusts with poisonous stings like those of deadly scorpions. The sky and the atmosphere were filled with them and all the earth was darkened by them. Before they came out, however, they were ordered by the angels not to go near and hurt the children of Baptism, but only to attack those who have no fear of God in them and are not prepared to meet His wrath. In this way they were to avenge God and strike for five months the faces of His enemies not to death, however, but as a punishment only. (The angel) also ordered them not to trespass [1] on grass and vegetation, nor to fall on trees and fruits, nor to display their strength against the believing children of men, but to come down on barren mountains, wastes and stones.[2]

Then the angel under whose care I was placed called me to the borders of the Euphrates, and I saw four angels that were bound there, and I said to the angel:[3] "Who are these?" And he answered: "These are angels entrusted with the counting of days, months, and years. They are expecting the end of eons and times when their shackles will be broken and they will overcome [4] all those who had contradicted them. They experience a great satisfaction in casting the third of mankind into perdition by order of the Omnipotent God."[5]

Then I saw horses of fire drawing near to me, on which were riding people with breast-plates of fire. I saw other horses with heads of lions and with fire coming out of their mouths. I saw innumerable people and races who felicitated and congratulated me on my headship and on my promotion to the position of precedence over all the believing nations. One of them handed me an oblong rod of light and said to me: "Arise and measure this sanctuary, because it is the sanctuary of the Lord; and measure also the altar."

Then I saw in heaven a red door in which there was a red dragon which had seven heads and twenty horns, and a crown on each head. This dragon stretched its tail, and it destroyed the third of the stars of heaven.

Then I saw a woman running in the deserts, and she had much influence on the Lord, and she remained there one thousand two hundred[1] and threescore days.

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[1] Read *yatajāwazū*.

[2] See the Book of Rev. ix. 3 *sq*.

[3] Read *lil-malak* (sing.).

[4] Read *wayatasallaṭū*.

[5] See the Book of Rev. ix. 14.

And there were two elders on whom God had showered His favours and whom He had invested with honour and glory, and they were His intimate friends to whom He had redeemed His pledge. And (the angel) called these two elders,[2] who had before their Lord as much honour as an angel, and who had to their credit signs, wonders and miracles. While I was standing with them and meditating concerning them I saw an animal coming out of the depth of the sea and which hurled itself at them, attacked them, fought against them, overcame them and killed them. It threw[3] their corpses outside the town, which was called *Bīlāṭ*. And it did not occur to it that it was doing a wrong thing.

Then I saw that the vineyards were stripped of their grapes which were thrown in a press situated outside the town, and their juice pressed out of them. The wrath of God was upon that press and the juice was transformed into frozen blood (as high as) a mountain. Then it melted and flowed on the surface of the earth to the extent of one thousand and six hundred parasangs.

Then I saw an eagle sweeping on the first dragon, and it drowned it in the depth of the abyss, and it is the Devil who envies the children of men. It closed the doors against him and it proclaimed[4] to the faithful that it will not come out of that place until a thousand years are finished.[5] And the angels sealed the place in which he had been placed with the seals of the children of Baptism, and these seals are the names of the Holy Trinity[6] and the signs of the Cross on which was crucified the Son of God who cannot be seen nor perceived nor overcome. Then I saw that the (seals) were placed (in the middle) and on them were laid the martyrs who were killed with the sword because of their love for the Messiah their Lord.

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[1] MS. "one hundred," but as the author is probably quoting the Book of Rev. xii. 6, the difference seems to be due to a copyist's error.

[2] Read *fadaʻa as-shaikhain*. The author attaches the pronoun to the verb placed before the subject as it is done in Syriac but not in Arabic.

[3] Read *wa-rama*.

[4] Read *wa-bashsharu*. Here as above the author uses the pronoun according to the Syriac and not the Arabic syntax.

[5] See the Book of Rev. xx. 1-3, which seems to be the source of the author for this sentence.

[6] The Syriac word *telithāyūtha*.

Then I saw a great throne, white with light, on which was sitting a figure of light; and I saw the heaven folded up and the earth standing firm; and I saw all the first and the last of the dead believers rising from their graves and standing before that throne. Books were then fetched and opened, and among them I saw the book of life open, and the people who had risen from the graves were being judged by those books, and everyone was requited according to his works.[1]

Then I saw the sea giving up the dead who were in it, and all stood for judgment; likewise hell gave up all the creatures that were in it, and they also stood for judgment. I saw also in a pit the suffering of some people who were tormented with frozen snow which occasioned shivering and gnashing of teeth.

After this the angels under whose care I was placed said to me: "Rise up with me and I will show you the places which you asked me to show you." And he forthwith placed me on a high mountain, higher than the highest peaks, and said to me: "Rejoice, and let your heart jubilate. Look at the city of the heavenly Jerusalem which is holy, glorious, honourable and spiritual, and which the Lord of creation has prepared for the children[2] of Baptism in order that they might pray in it and worship with the angelic hierarchies and Adamic races." I drew near to it and was awestruck by it. It is situated on the highest point of Paradise and it overlooks the lofty Garden of Eden.

I saw the light of the first Kingdom of Heaven shining, a light that multiplies in the onlooker lights that enlighten his mind, intelligence, knowledge, meekness, speech, sight, hearing, and smelling, because it proceeds from life, power, strength, wisdom, grace and mercy. It is a light that shines like the rays of the full moon, and like the flash of the swift lightning.

I saw that it was surrounded by lofty walls[3] in which were twelve gates, three of which looked to the centre of the east, three to the middle of the west, three to the beginning of the south and three to the beginning of the north. I saw that the city had twelve foundations[4] in which were also twelve gates, on each one of which was written the name of one of the Apostles, while his image was painted upon it.[1]

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[1] All this is found in the Book of Rev. xx. 12.

[2] Remove the *waw*.

[3] Read *aswār*.

[4] Lit. "walls."

The street[2] of the city was of red gold and pure silver. The city itself was four square with exactitude. Its wall[3] was built with twelve stones. The first stone is called jasper,[4] and the second is called sapphire.[5] The third stone is called chalcedony, and the fourth stone is called emerald. The fifth stone is sardonyx, and the sixth sardius. The seventh is chrysolyte,[6] and the eighth beryl. The ninth stone is a topaz, and the tenth chrysoprasus. The eleventh stone is jacinth,[7] and the twelfth stone is of different colours the first of which is yellow and the second red, the third blue, the fourth white and the fifth black, and it is called onyx.

After the angel had shown me all this Church, he handed me a rod of gold which he was carrying and said to me: "Take this rod, O Peter, and measure this Church with it." And I did what the angel had ordered me; and it measured twelve thousand parasangs by the measure[8] of the Holy Spirit. And the angel measured the breadth of each wall, and it measured one hundred and forty cubits by the cubit of the Holy Spirit[9] which measures like the distance that separates the east from the west.

I did not see any temple in the Church because its temple is *Ahiyah Asharahiyah Sabaoth*[10] who dwells in every part of it. The Father has, indeed, established it in the name of the Christ our Lord, the Lamb of the divine sacrifice which is offered for the expiation of the sins of Adam and his posterity, and the Lamb which taketh away the sin of the world.[1]

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[1] This is similar to what is found in the Book of Rev. xxi. 12-14.

[2] Lit. "furniture," but see Rev. xxi. 21.

[3] Read *as-sūr.*

[4] Text: *al-asfānos.*

[5] Text: *asfila* from Syriac *safila.*

[6] Lit. "gold."

[7] The description of the stones is similar to that found in the Book of Rev. xxi. 19-20, the nomenclature of which I have followed, although the nature of each stone is somewhat difficult to determine scientifically.

[8] Lit. *ḳabḍah*—the measure of the palm of the hand or of the upper arm.

[9] In the Book of Rev. xxi. 17, it is said that the measure was that of an angel. Note how the author constantly uses here the Persian measure of "parasangs." This Apocalyptic measure is rendered in the English version by the word "furlongs." The Book of Rev. says further that the measure of the wall was 144 and not 140 cubits. This difference is probably due to an error of a copyist.

[10] Hebrew names as above. All this is imitated from the Book of Rev. xxi. 22, where the Hebrew names of our document occur as the "Lord God Almighty."

To that church go in the day of the Resurrection and Resuscitation the souls of the believers, the true prophets, the Apostles who are the heads of the shepherds of the sheep of God; to them on that day will flock their flocks from the four corners of the earth, and they will present them before the judging Lord in order to exact[2] justice in their favour from those with whom God is angry.[3]

And the pure and holy Father said: I did not see[4] in (that Church) either sun or moon, because its light surpasses all other light and transcends every other brightness, as it is full of the light, brightness and splendour of God. It has neither night nor darkness, and it is from it that the creatures of light borrow their light. To it are addressed the glorifications of the peoples, but none enters it except the souls which believe in the Son of God and in the Trinity, which are cleansed in the water of Baptism, which are marked with the sign of the Cross, and which disbelieve in the treatise[5] of the son of the wolf.

While the angel was showing me every place in that Church, I noticed a river flowing from under the throne of might. Its water[6] was white in colour and it exhaled perfumes which quickened the souls. On either side of it were trees of life, which served as an abode for the rational birds. Each tree bore twelve fruits, and each one of these fruits had a different colour, taste, scent and usefulness.[7] I asked the angel concerning the name of that stream and he answered me that its name was the "Beautifier of Life."

And the angel said to me: "I wish to show you the great whore who is sitting by the waters that stink with iniquities, and with whom all the kings of the earth have committed fornication and have been made drunk with her wine."[1] At his command I went like lightning and I saw a woman sitting on a scarlet coloured beast, near waters that were full of fish. She had seven heads and ten horns, and was arrayed in purple and scarlet and decked with gold and with garments adorned with precious stones. She had a golden cup in her hand full of her abominations, and upon her garment was written: "This is the whore who committed fornication, and conceived from her iniquitous sin and brought forth the tares, the pagans who are the children of the wolf,[2] the Chosraus, the Pharaohs, the giants and the tyrants, who contradict the truth and in whose heart there is neither pity nor fear, and who worship idols." She did not believe in the message of the angel,[3] and she represents the city of Babylon which overcame and overpowered all the countries, and became insolent and haughty throughout her dominions, which she increased.

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[1] John i. 29.

[2] Read *liya'khudhū.*

[3] A Ḳur'ānic sentence as above.

[4] Add *ara.*

[5] Or possibly "opinion." Who is this "son of the wolf"? From many somewhat veiled expressions found in the work I have come to the conclusion that the "son of the wolf" is Muḥammad, the Prophet of Islam, and that the "children of the wolf" are the Muslims, his followers. As the author was writing in Arabic, and Arabic was the language of the Muslims, some expressions had to be found which referred in a covert way to the new masters whom the Christian communities of the East often hated and always feared more than respected.

[6] Read *mā'uhu.*

[7] This river and these trees are those found in the Book of Rev. xxii. 1-2.

The seven heads that she has represents seven kingdoms. Each kingdom will last for a time, and no one will be able to save them from her hands, nor to overcome her till the end of time. And the ten horns which she has represent also kings who will rule over nations.[4]

And the angel said to me: "Her end will be desolation and perdition, and all her children will perish with her in the bottomless pit."

And the angel said to me: "O Peter, admonish your children to flee[5] from her in order that she may not draw them to herself, because if she does they will undoubtedly fall down into the lowest part of hell and they will abide[6] there with her children for ever and ever."

Then I Peter drew nearer to that woman and I noticed that she was drunk and had lost consciousness. And I looked at her wine and saw that it was from the blood of the children of the Church, of the elect of God, of the faithful who are the children of Baptism, of the saints and of the pious martyrs who endured the sufferings of many kinds of deaths and torments at the hand of her children, who shed the blood of the sons of faith in order that she might drink it and be drunken and intoxicated.

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[1] This is surely the same woman as that found in the Book of Rev. xvii. 1-7.

[2] Here also I believe that these "children of the wolf" are the Muslims.

[3] This sentence is difficult and my translation of it is not certain.

[4] This and similar incidents in this section are not in harmony with Rev. xvii. 12.

[5] Read *liyahrubu*.

[6] Read *mathwāhum*.

When I Peter saw this I was grieved at the sad plight of my children from that whore, but the angel said to me: "Do not fear, O Peter, because the Lamb of God will overcome her, destroy her throne, obliterate her name and her memory and thrust her into the fire of the lowest hell. And the fire that burns her and her[1] children is eternal, does not perish and is not quenched."

Then I saw an animal coming from the direction of the sun, and had two horns like those of a lamb. And I saw a dragon in his hands, and I saw that the earth and its inhabitants were worshipping that beast because he was performing wonderful deeds[2] one of which was that he was bringing down fire from heaven on the earth. He was also working miracles which astonished the inhabitants of the earth. He commanded them to fashion[3] an image, and he imparted to that image[4] a soul with which to speak. He ordered the people to write the name of the image in their houses and to proclaim to all the countries and corners of the earth: "Anyone of the children of the world who will not worship this image shall be killed."[5]

He also ordered all the worshippers of that image to paint it on their bodies and on their faces in order that they might be known as the followers of the beast which resembled a lamb and to which God granted power, glory and honour. He also ordered that houses of prayer should be built for it and for its followers, in order that they might be recognised there and that their acclamations might be heard therein.

The mark with which he ordered them to be marked[6] is the crown of death with which all the believers in him are crowned. I did not see anyone able to save himself from him except Edom, Moab and the sons of 'Emron.

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[1] Add a *wāw*. [2] Read *afʻālan*. [3] Read *yaṣnaʻū*.

[4] Here also the author places the pronoun before the subject according to the genius of the Syriac and not the Arabic language.

[5] This beast seems to be that mentioned in the Book of Rev. xiii. 11-17. The author as usual shortens or lengthens or changes the text of the Book of Rev. in some important details and comments upon it in some other details.

[6] Remove the *nūn* from all the verbs followed by the particle *'an*.

Then I saw a woman whose face shone like the sun and the moon. And I saw that she had the moon under her feet and that she clothed herself with the sun.[1] I saw on her head a crown woven with twelve stars. And the woman was with child and travailing in birth. Then I saw that she brought forth a man child, and I saw that after she brought him forth he ruled all nations. Then he was caught up unto God and sat in the throne of His glory.

Then I saw the woman on a great height where she remained one thousand one hundred and sixty-six days.[2] And I saw that the above-mentioned dragon was persecuting the woman to whom were given two wings of a great eagle with which she flew to a high peak from fear of the big dragon. And I saw that the dragon cast out of his mouth[3] water as a great river so that he might cut off the way of the woman, but the earth opened her mouth and swallowed up the water which the dragon had cast out of his mouth in order to harm the woman, and she was delivered and saved. When the dragon noticed that the woman was saved from his evildoing, he waxed very angry and proceeded to make war with her people and her followers, and with those who keep her commandments and her laws, who are martyred for her sake and for the sake of her son and who submit to her orders. These are the believers who have shunned the perfumes of the Rebel and rejoiced in their belief in the only Son of God.

Then the angel to whom I was confided took me back to the Mount of Olives and placed me before the Lord Christ. And my Lord said to me: "O Peter, have you seen wonders?" And I said to Him: "O Son of the living God,[4] I saw what I am not able to describe, and even my memory cannot reveal all that I saw."

And my Lord said: "O Peter, how numerous will be the troubles that will befall my followers at the hand of my enemies, the children of the tares, who are the inhabitants of the South and the followers of the Apostle of the *Archon!*[1] Indeed, they will suffer innumerable torments from them, but blessed are those who will endure hardships for my sake at the time when their souls leave their bodies[2] and come to me! O Peter, there will be no limit to the increase of their reward with me, and I will mix their souls with my elect in my Kingdom, and I will gladden their hearts with the multitude of favours which I will shower on them in a way that neither their hearts nor their minds can conceive. Thus will I make them forget all the evil things that they had endured from the (children) of the tares and others, and I will not withhold my Providence from them at the time of their sojourn on the earth.

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[1] The text of this sentence is corrupt. The woman spoken of here seems to be the one mentioned in the Book of Rev. xii. 1-2, 5-6, etc., although with some differences in phraseology.

[2] The Book of Rev. xii. 6, says "one thousand two hundred and sixty days."

[3] Read *famihi.*

[4] This sentence is as usual in Syriac.

"As to the woman whom you saw with the moon under her feet, clothed with the sun, and possessed of that unique pearl which you beheld,[3] and having on her head a crown woven with twelve stars, she is my glorious Church which shines with lights that surpass in brightness the rays of the sun in which she was arrayed. As to the moon which you saw under her feet, it represents the light which I will cause to shine on the believers and on the martyrs who are killed for my sake. My Churches[4] will be built under their names, and the shrine of each one of them will shine like the bright moon because of the injustices of the enemies which they had borne.

"As to the big crown which she was wearing and which was surmounted with a pearl and surrounded by twelve stars, one of which fell down: the crown represents my glory and my blood, and the pearl that surmounted the crown is I, the Lord God, who causes my light to shine on all my creatures. As to the twelve stars, they are you the twelve Apostles. As to the star that fell from[5] among you, it is Judas Iscariot who betrayed my signs and my favours to him and strove to inflict on me the sufferings which I have endured. Verily I say unto you that I will make him fall from your company as I made the *Archon* fall from the ten[1] hierarchies of the angels. He merited this fall from his glory because of his revolt and his calumnies.

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[1] I believe that this sentence also clearly refers to the Muslim Arabs who come from the South. The "Apostle of the Archon" seems also to designate Muḥammad, and means "Apostle of Satan" in contrast with "Apostle of God" as the Prophet of Islam is called.

[2] Remove the particle *'ila.*

[3] The Book of Rev. xii. 1 does not mention any pearl. The author is possibly referring to the woman spoken of in Rev. xvii. 4, who was decked with gold and precious stones and pearls. See above.

[4] MS. "Church."

[5] Read *'inhabaṭa.*

"As to you, O Apostles, you will increase, and your memory will be honoured in the countries of the earth. You will beget spiritually[2] over the whole surface of the earth, and you will have sons and daughters, and your posterity will be filled with love, purity, knowledge, meekness, chastity, asceticism, mercy, grace, sweetness and faith, and you will have through your children superiority over all nations. They will listen to my mysteries which you will confide to them, and will keep my commandments which you will recite to them.

"Blessed are you and your hallowed progeny who will endure for my sake the hardships which the children of the earth will inflict on them! Their blood will be shed like flowing water in order that the commands with which I sent you into the world may be safeguarded. I will redeem my promise in all things told by you concerning me in my holy Gospel.

"As to the woman who brought forth the man child, she is the mother of life, the mother of grace, and the mother of the good shepherd. And the man child whom she brought forth is the one to whom you are speaking.

"Know that I have shown you the things that were at the very beginning and the things that will be at the very end, because all things are present in the palm of my hand, and any time I will them to be they are."

Here ends the second part full of meanings in which figures Simon son of Jonas—may perfect peace be upon him from all of us.[3]

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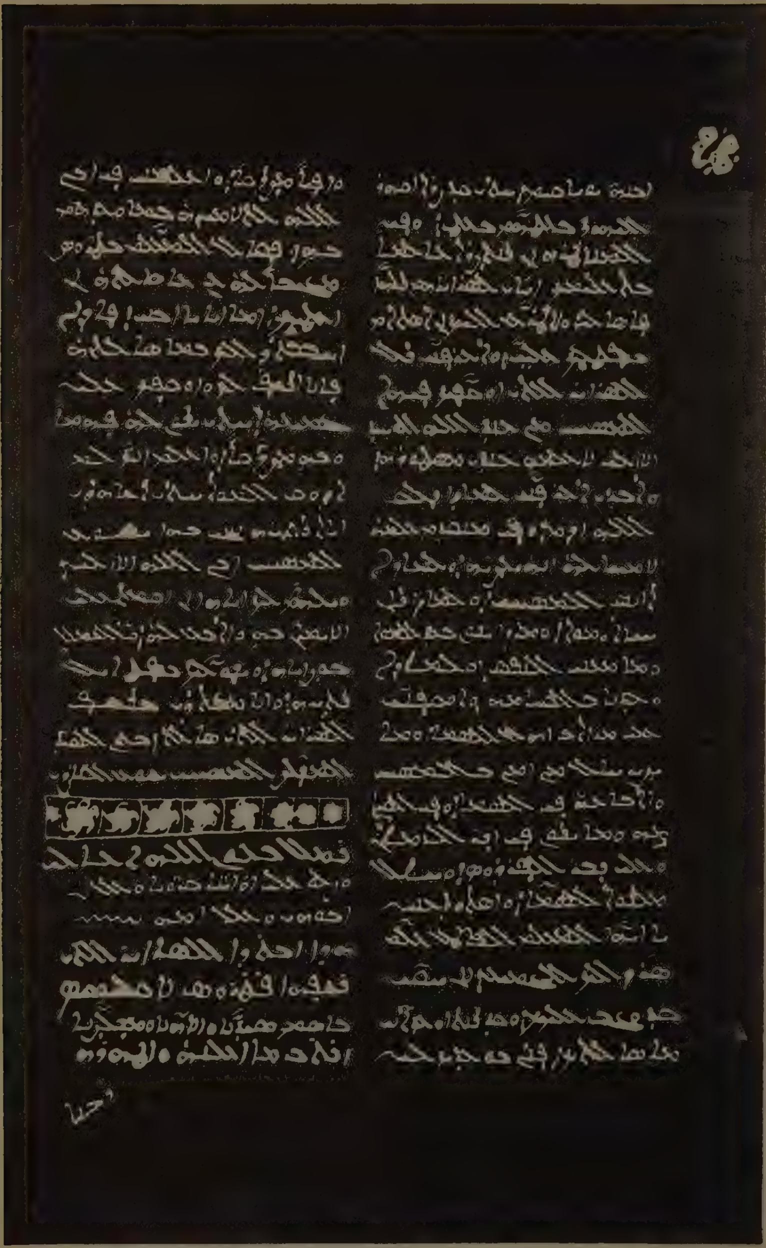
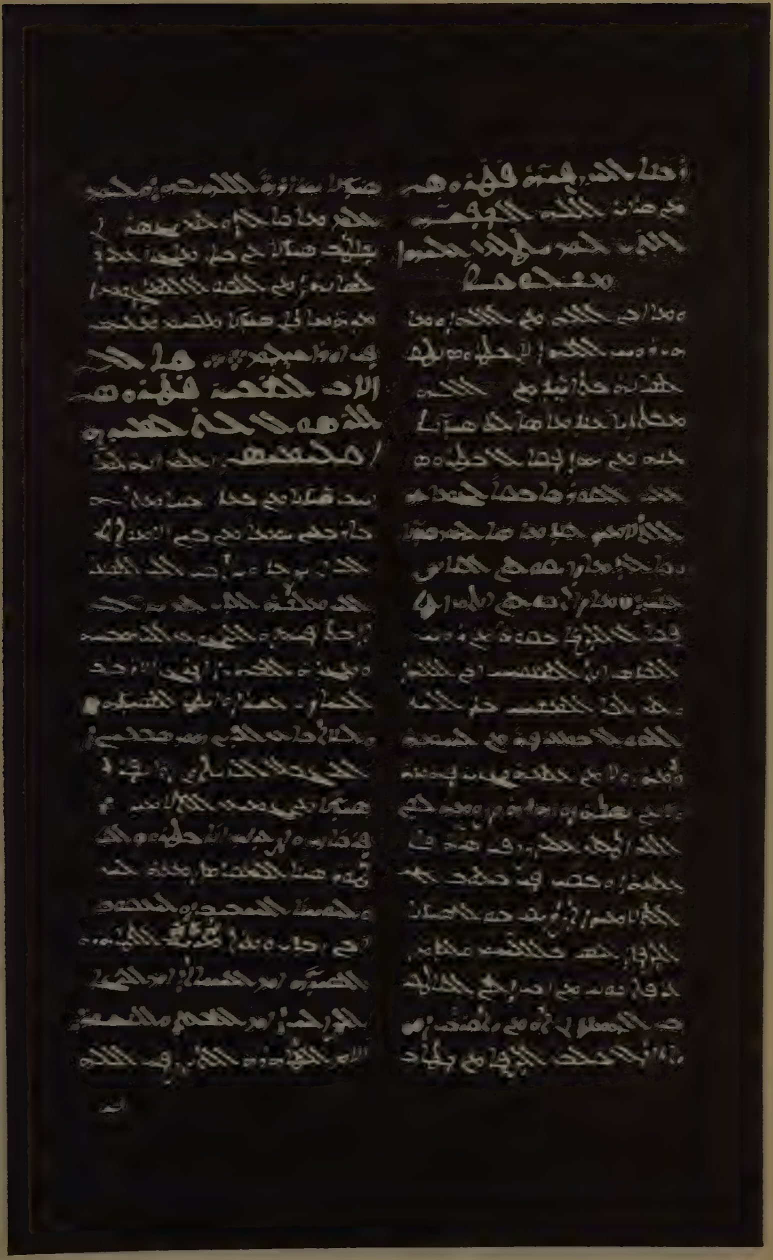
[1] *Sic.* cod.

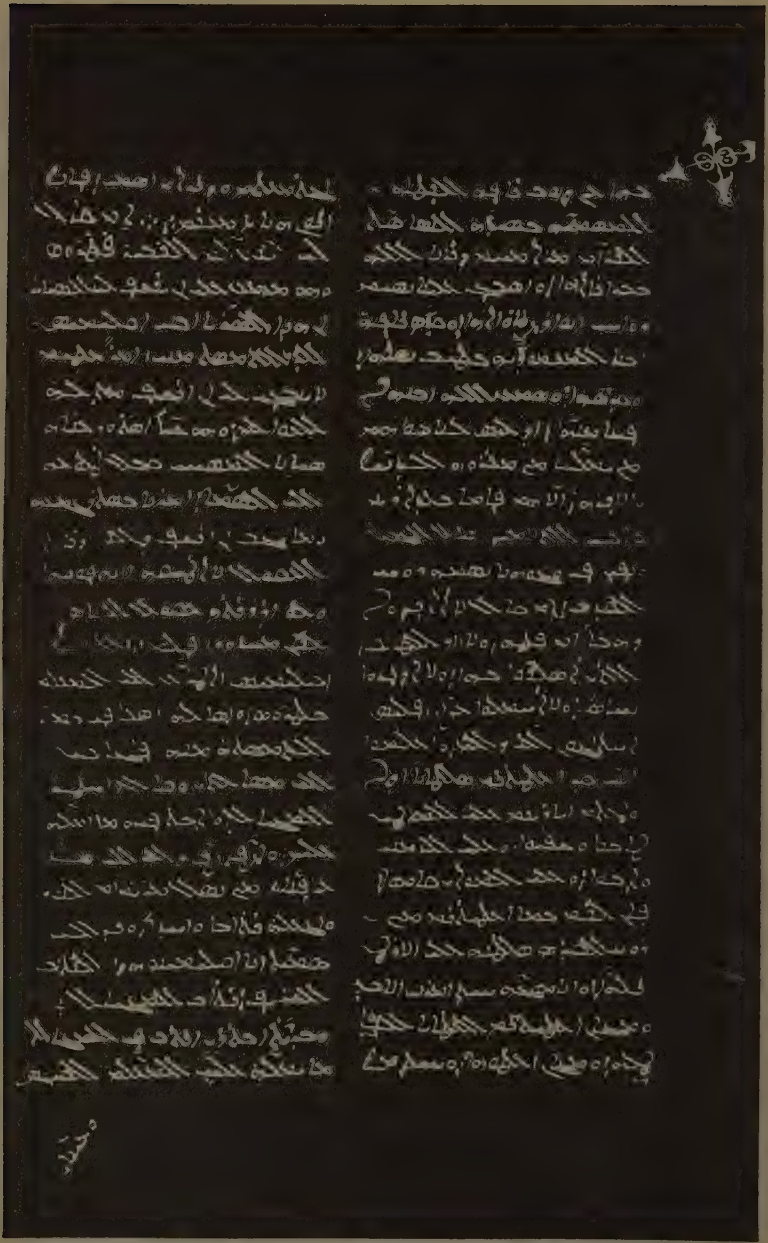
[2] Read *milādan.*

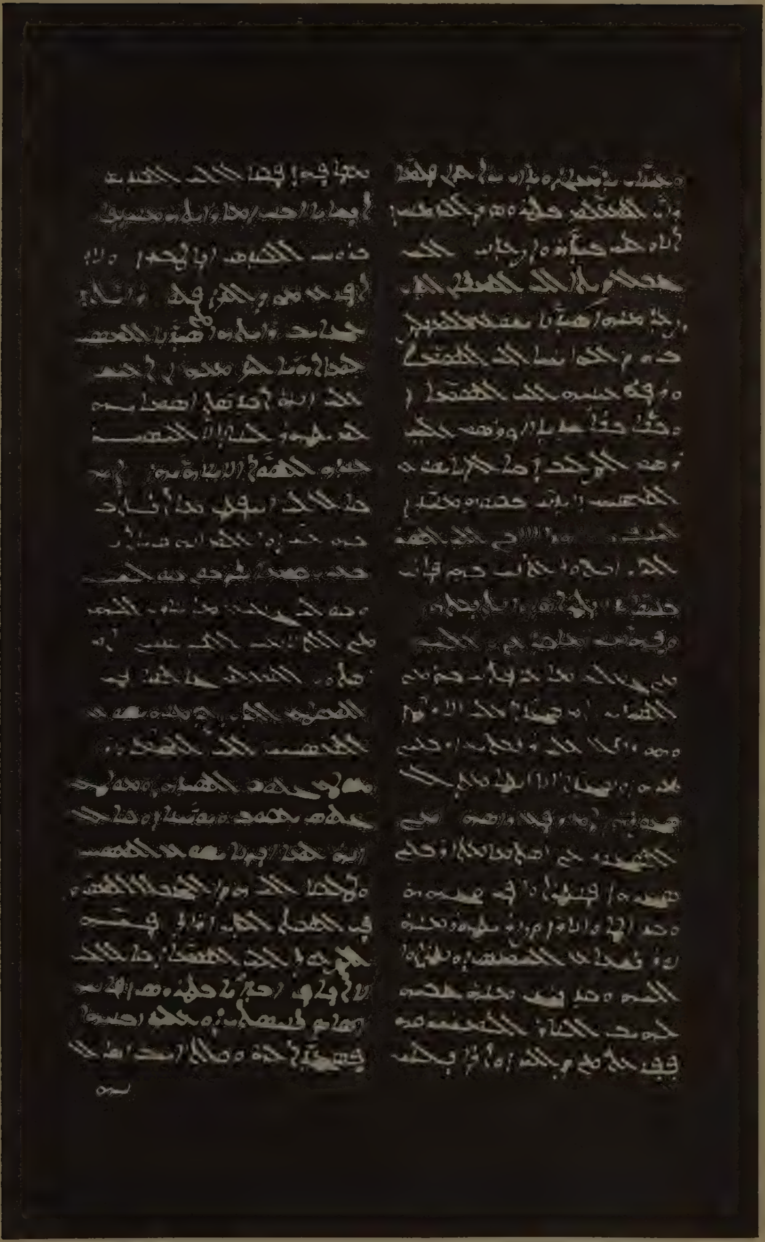
[3] All these headings are due to the copyist and are not germane to the narrative.

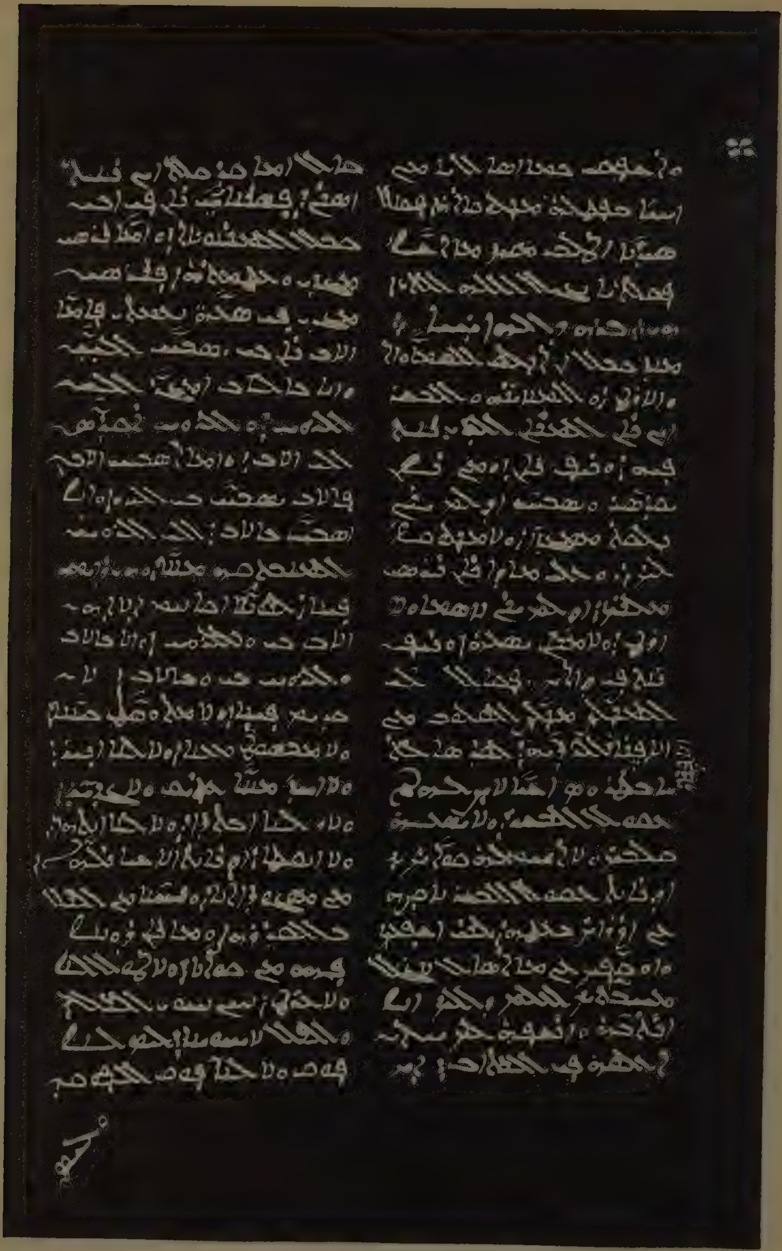
(*To be continued.*)

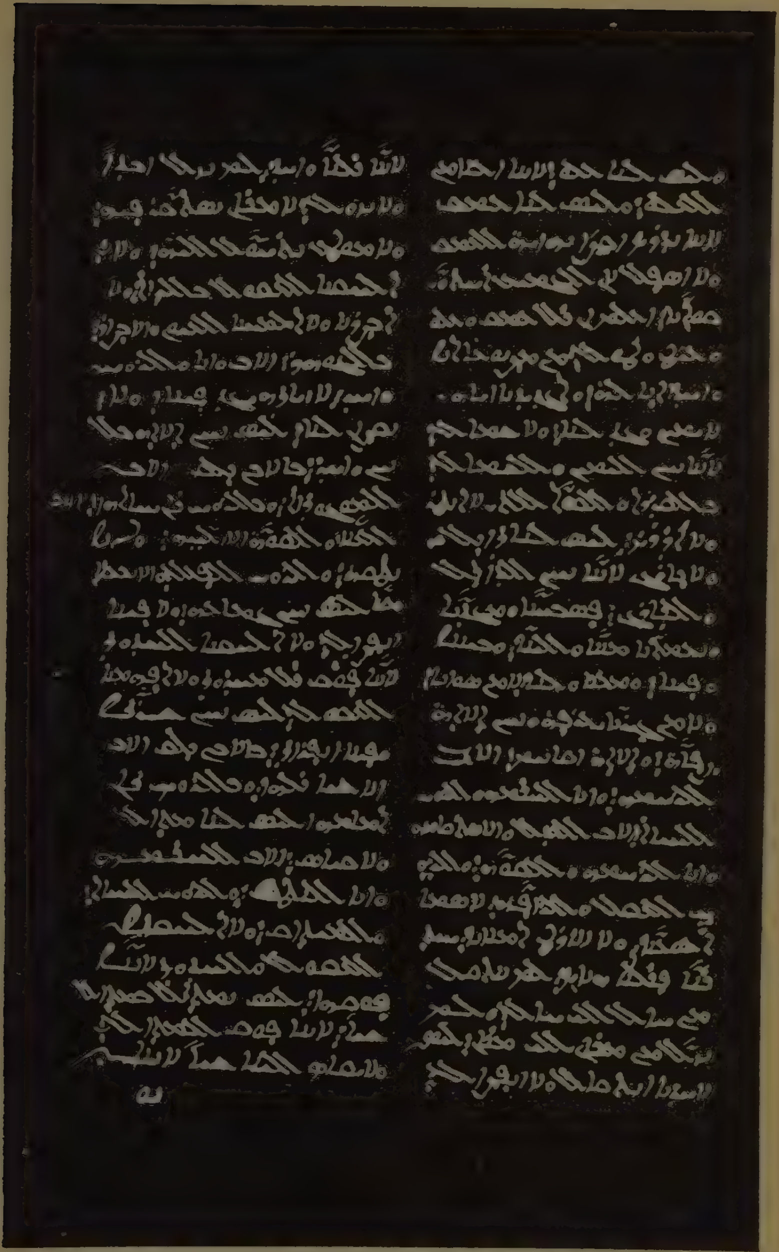


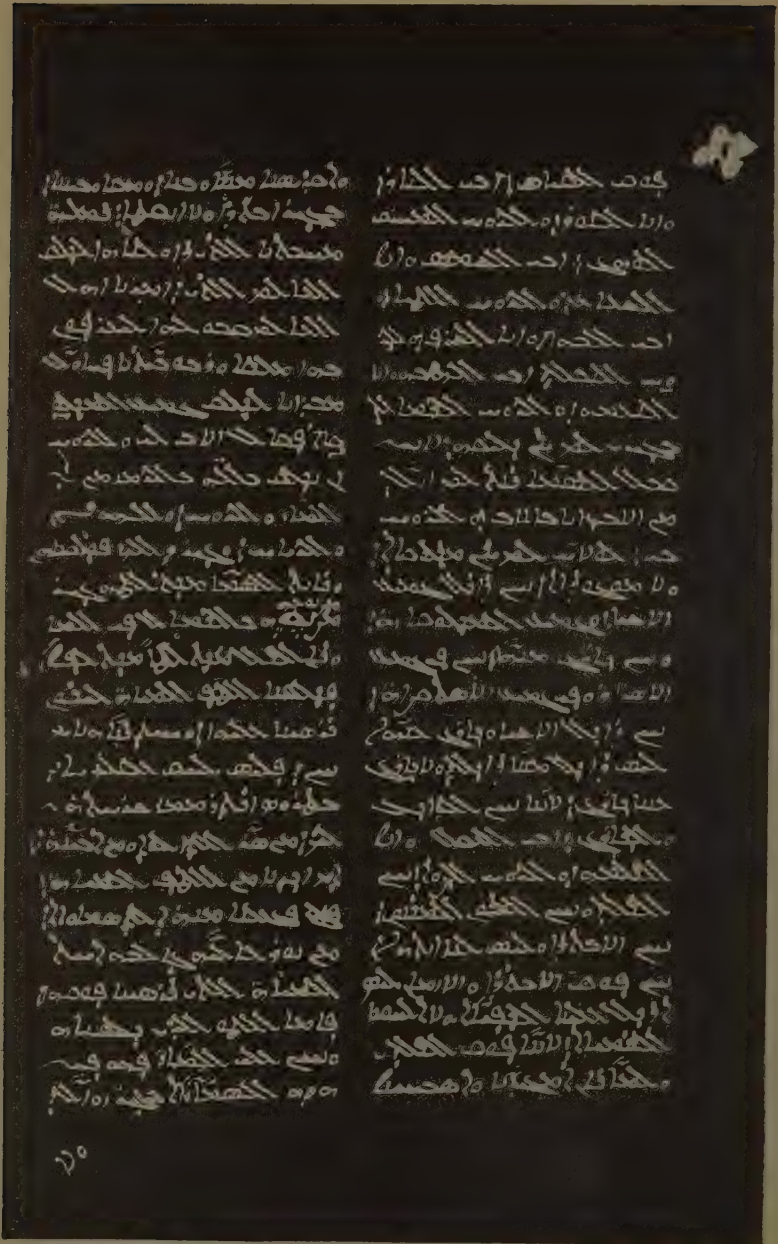


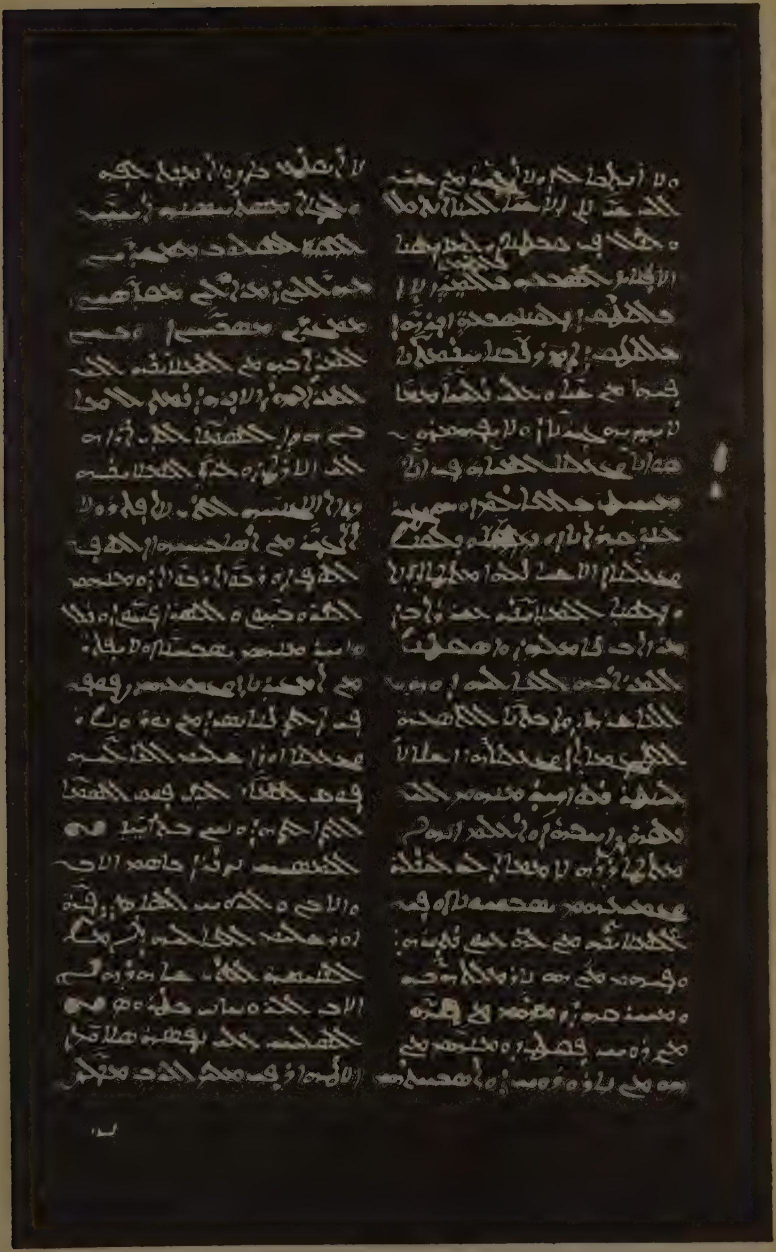


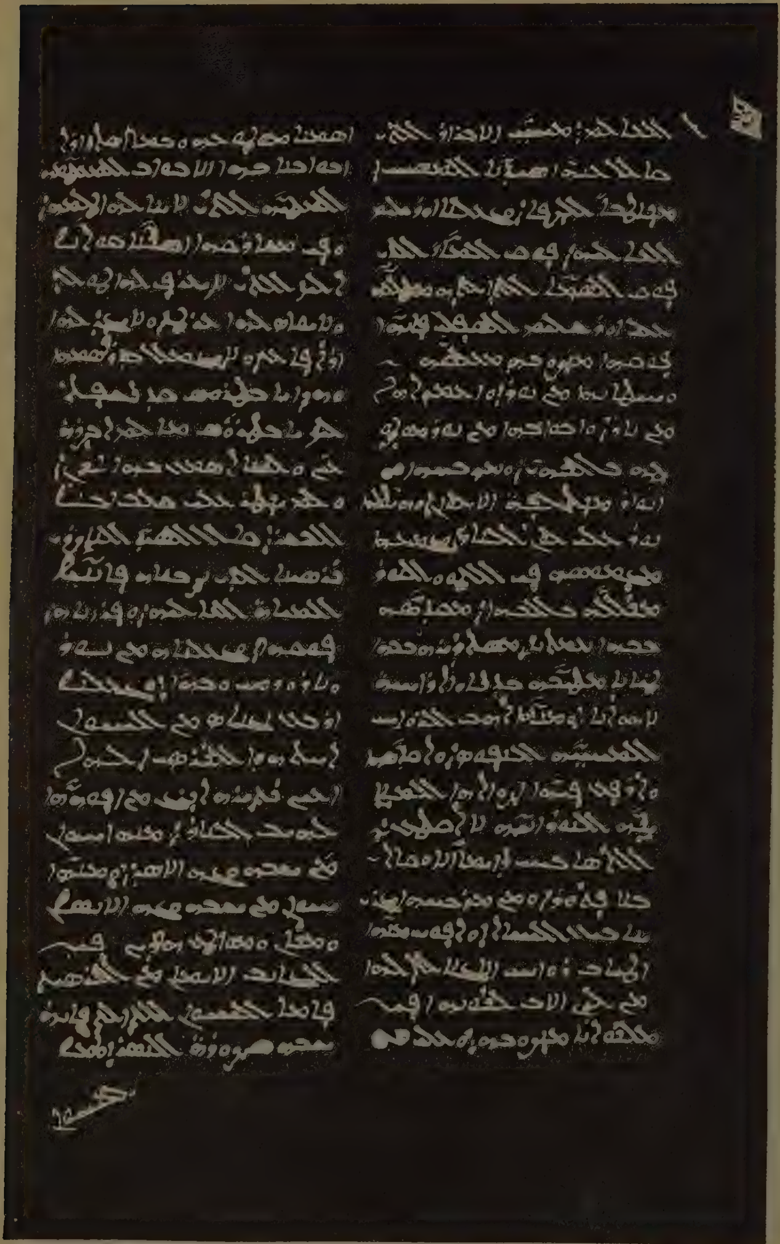


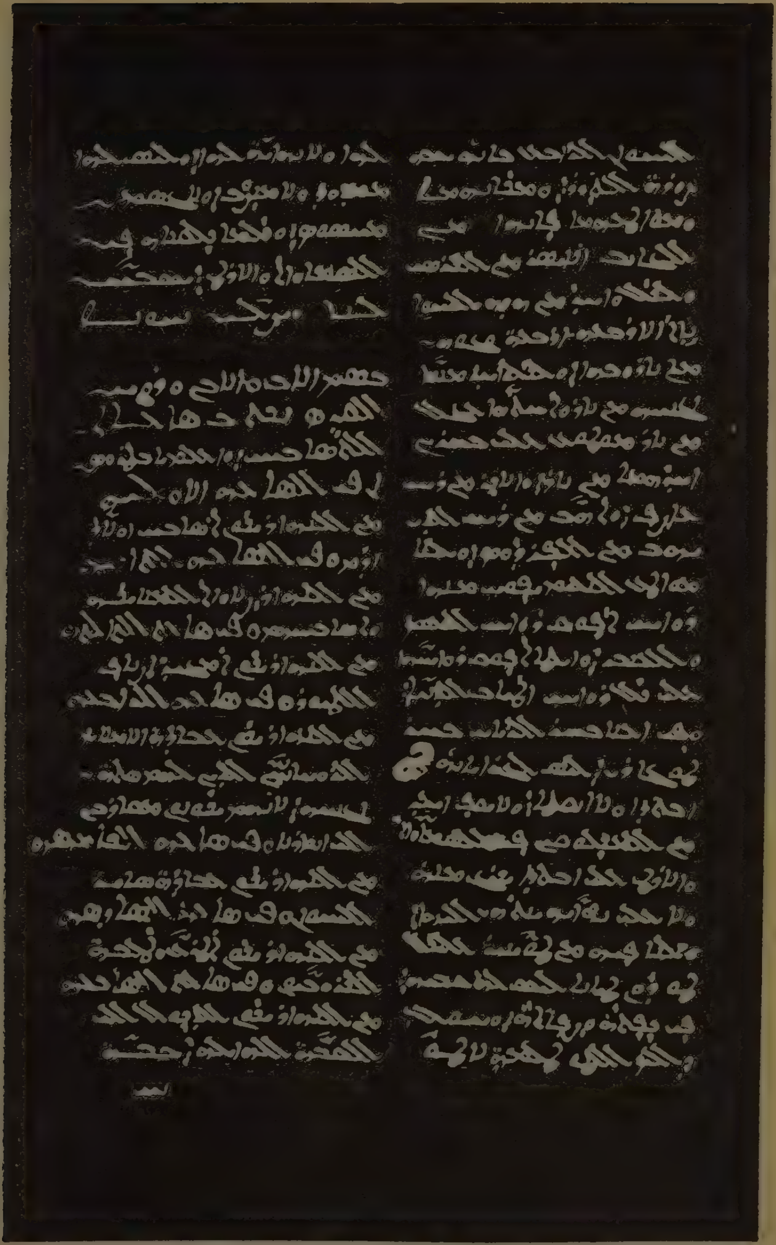


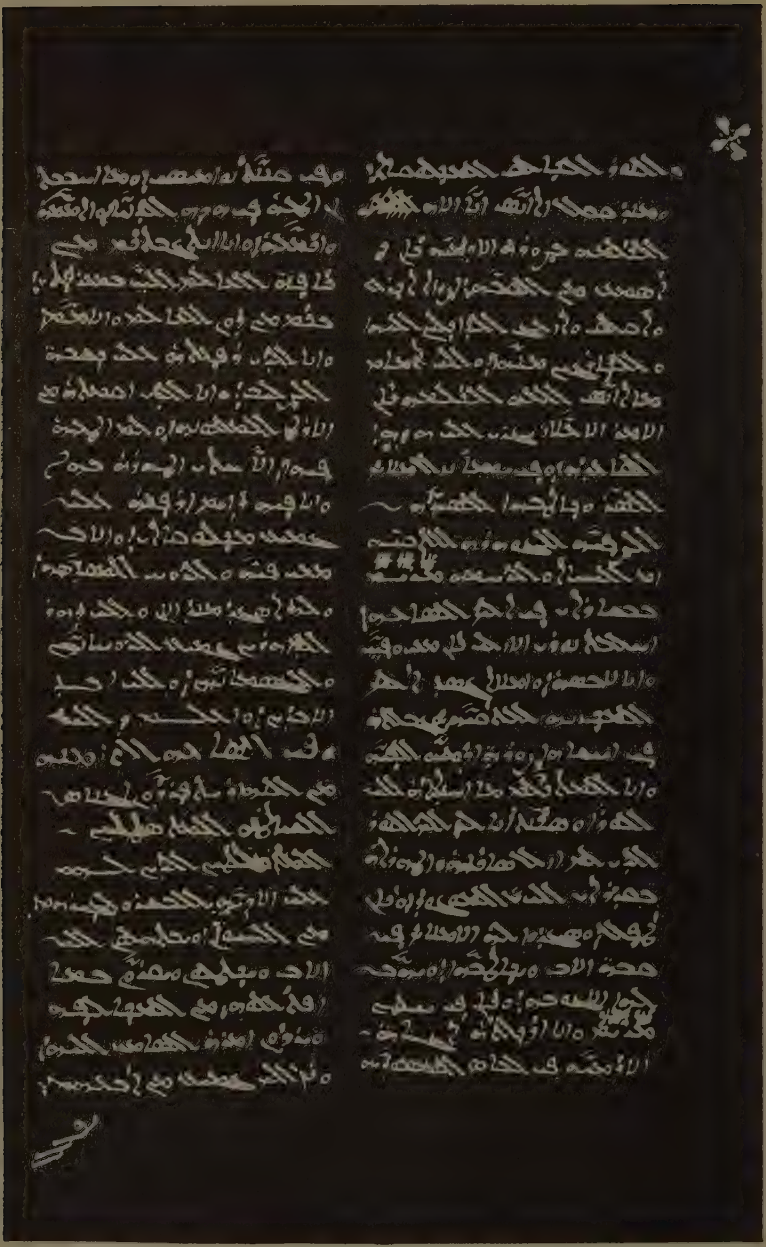


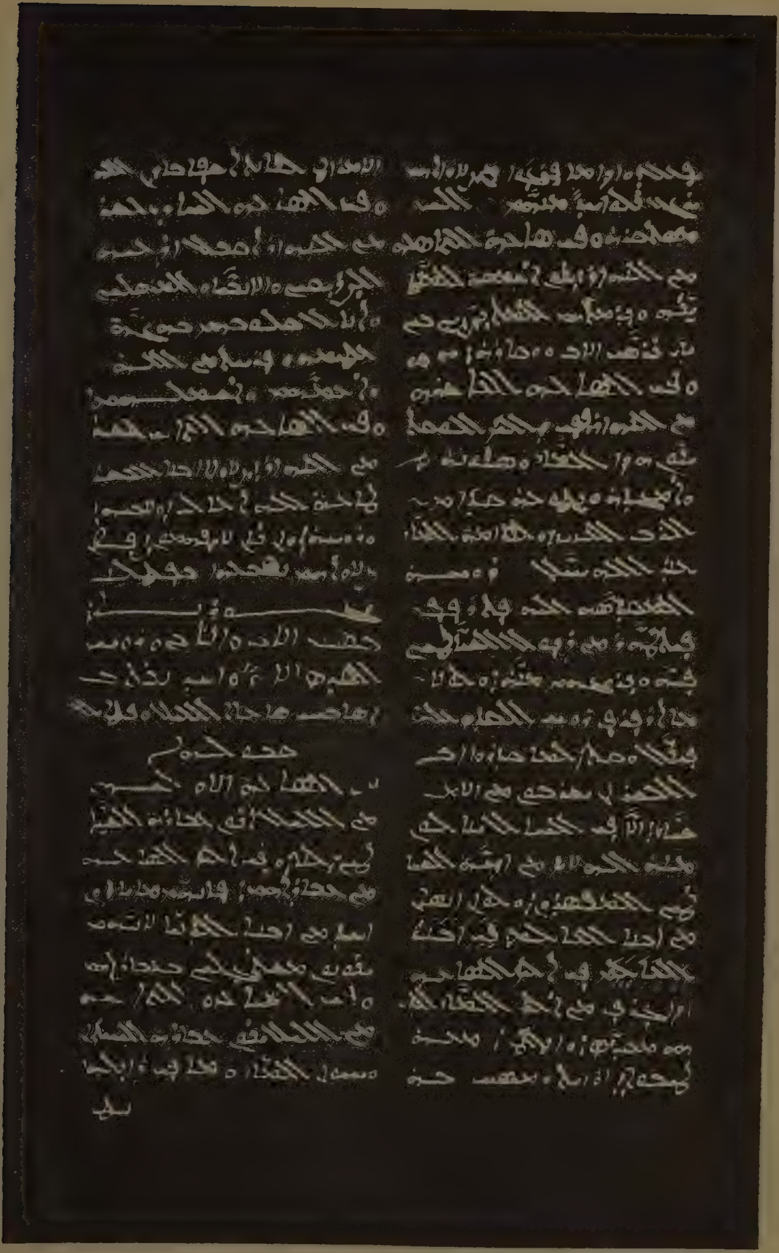


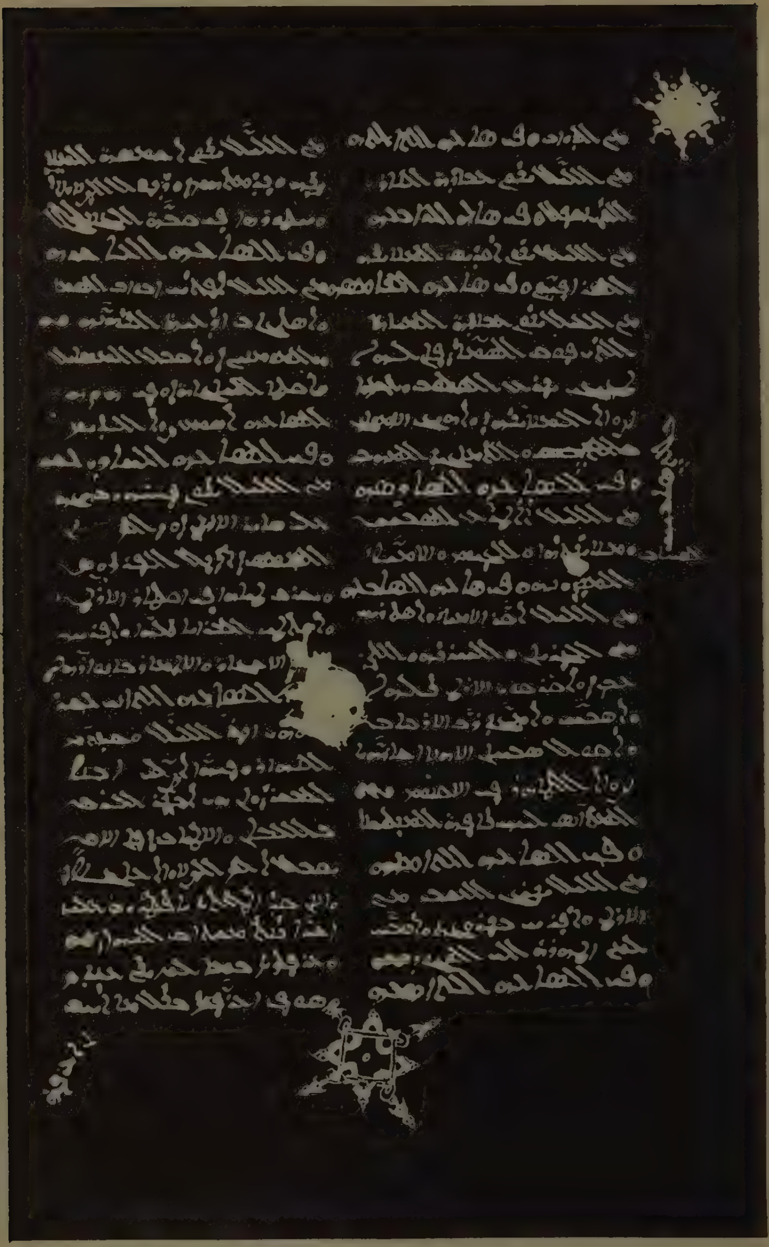


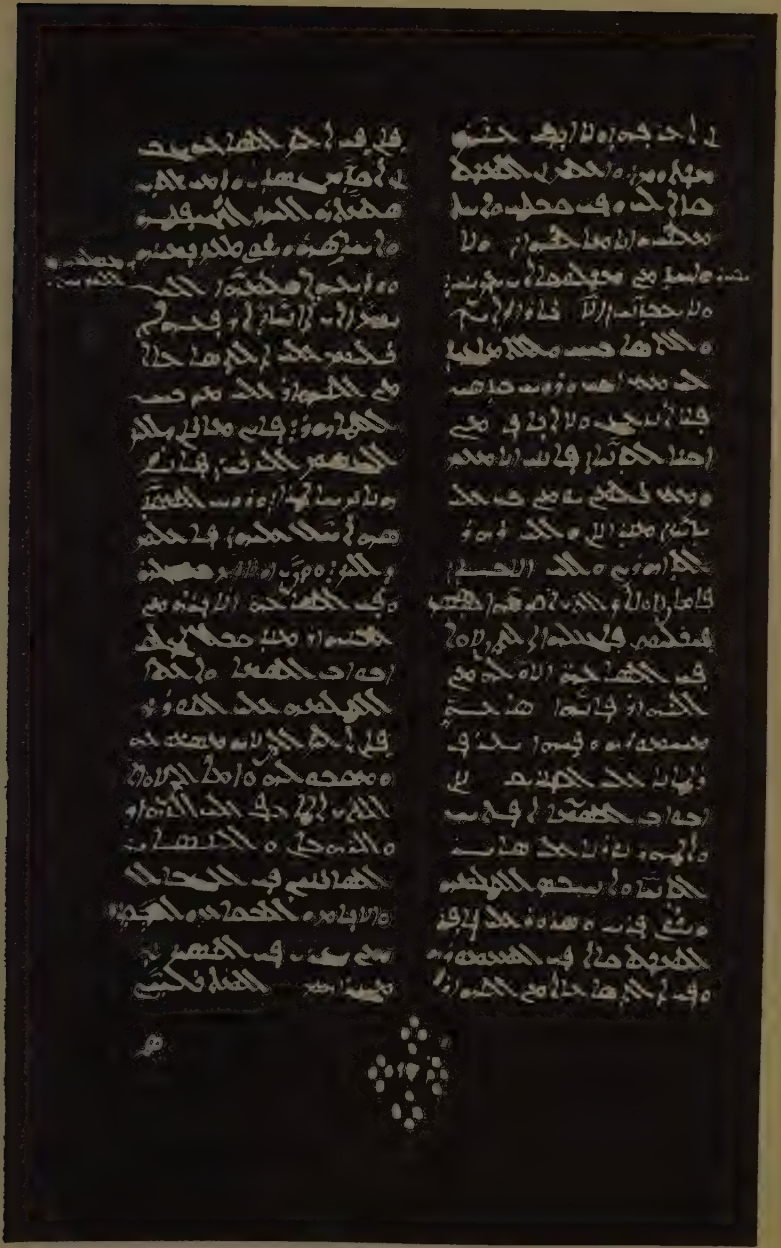


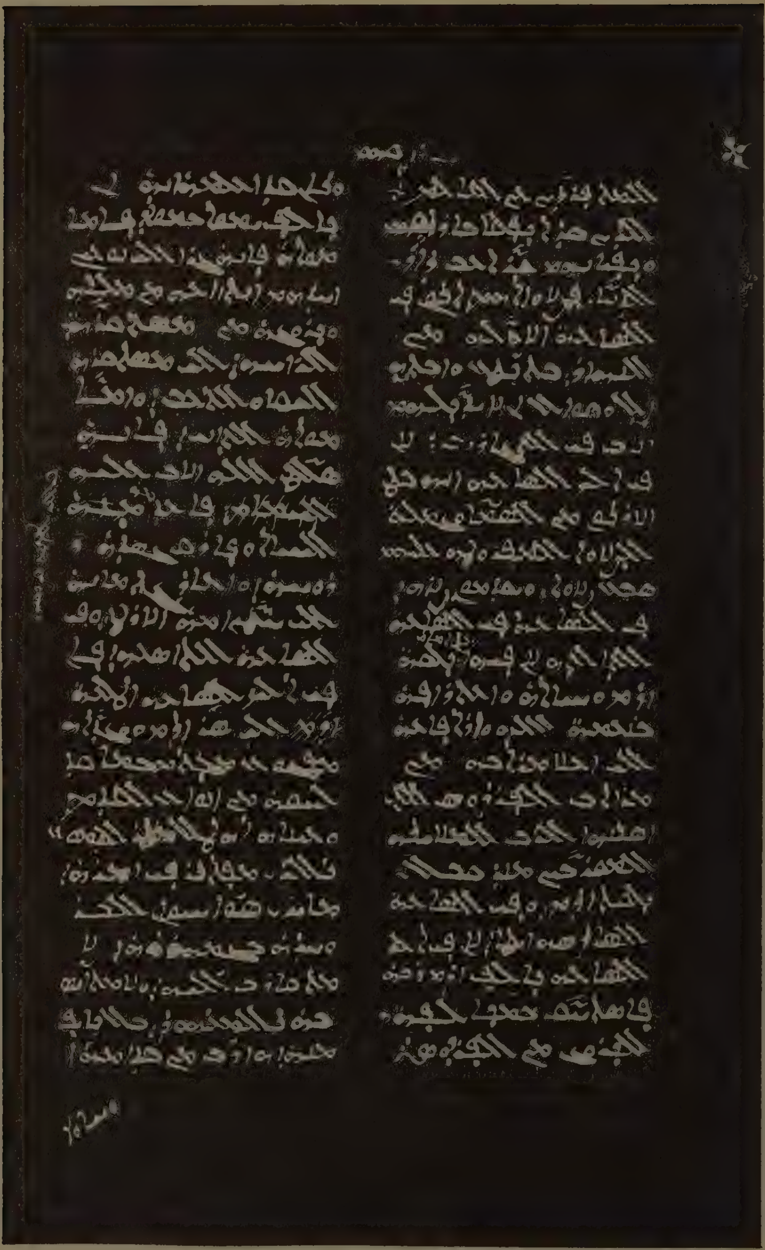


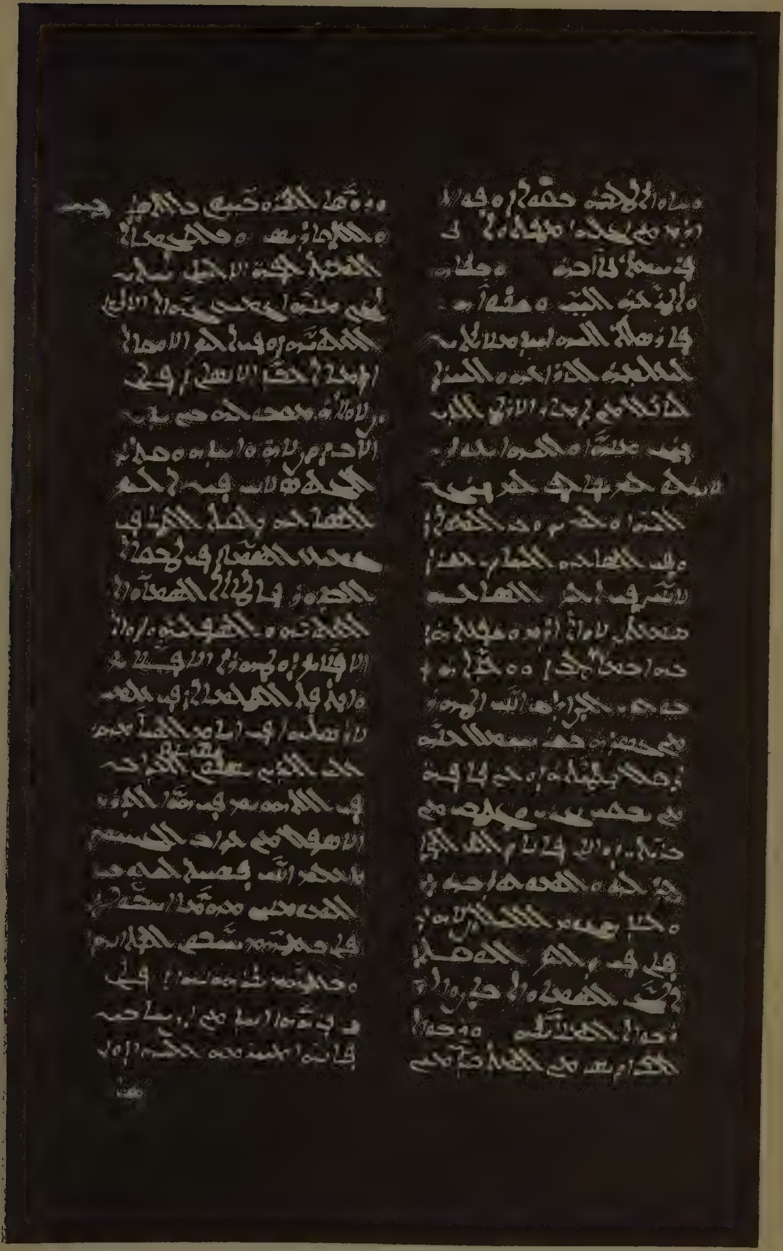


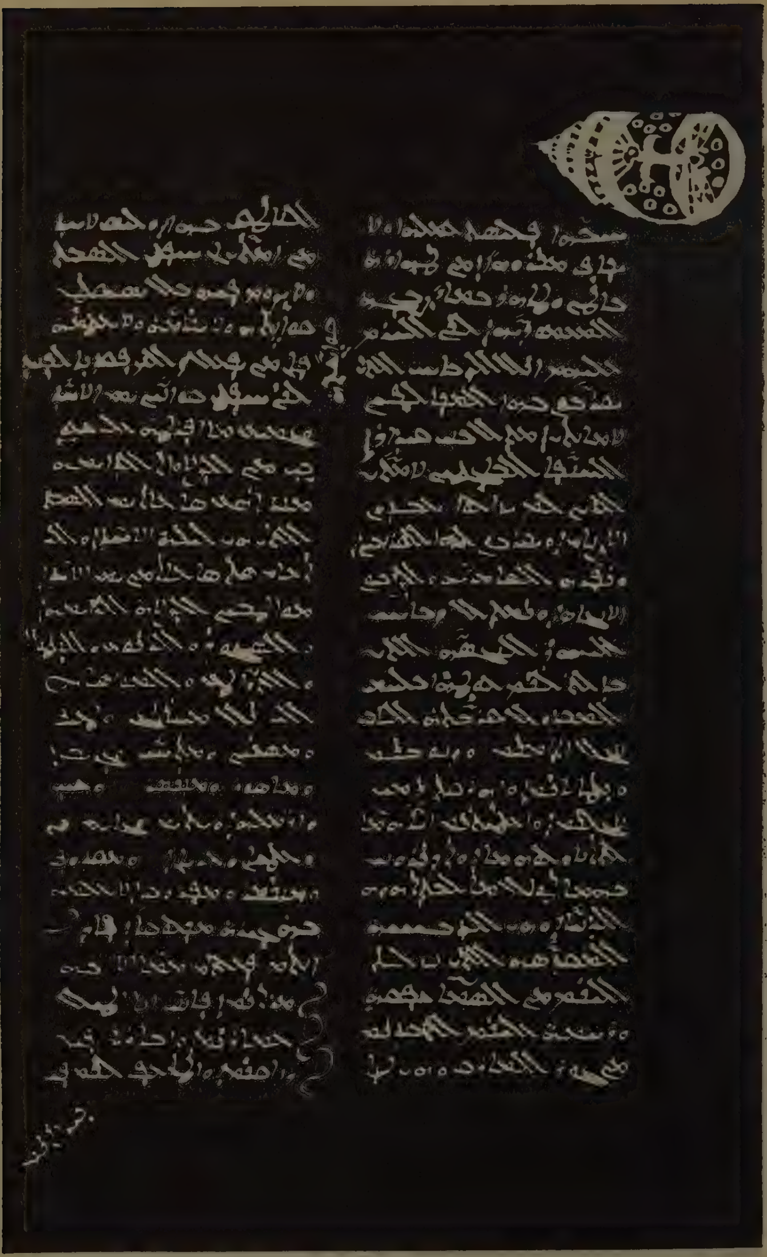


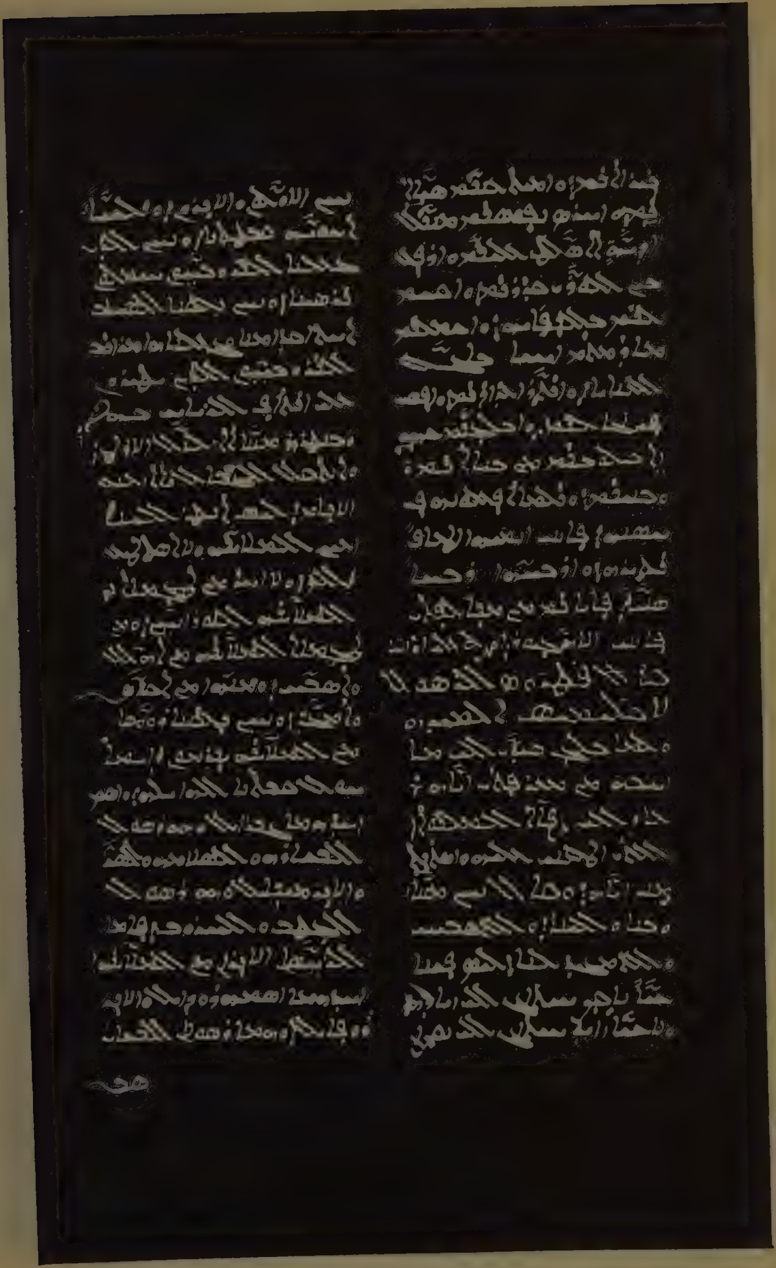


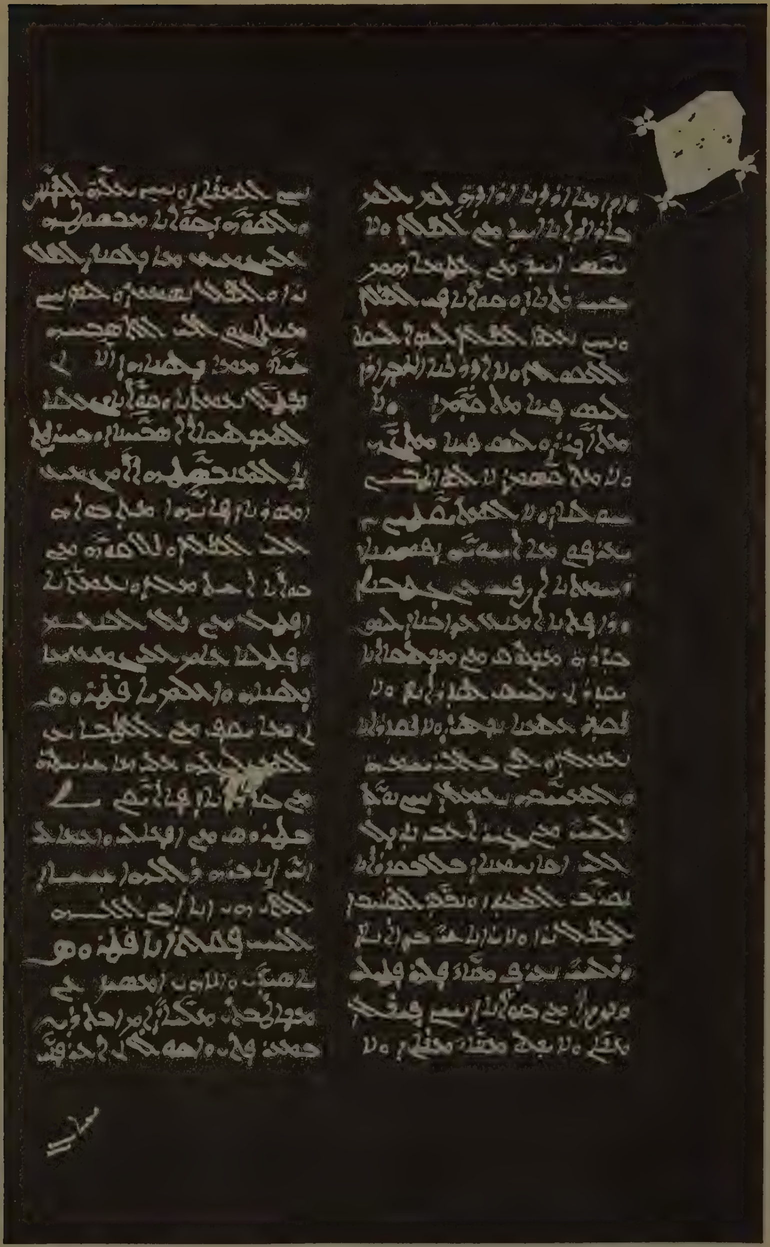


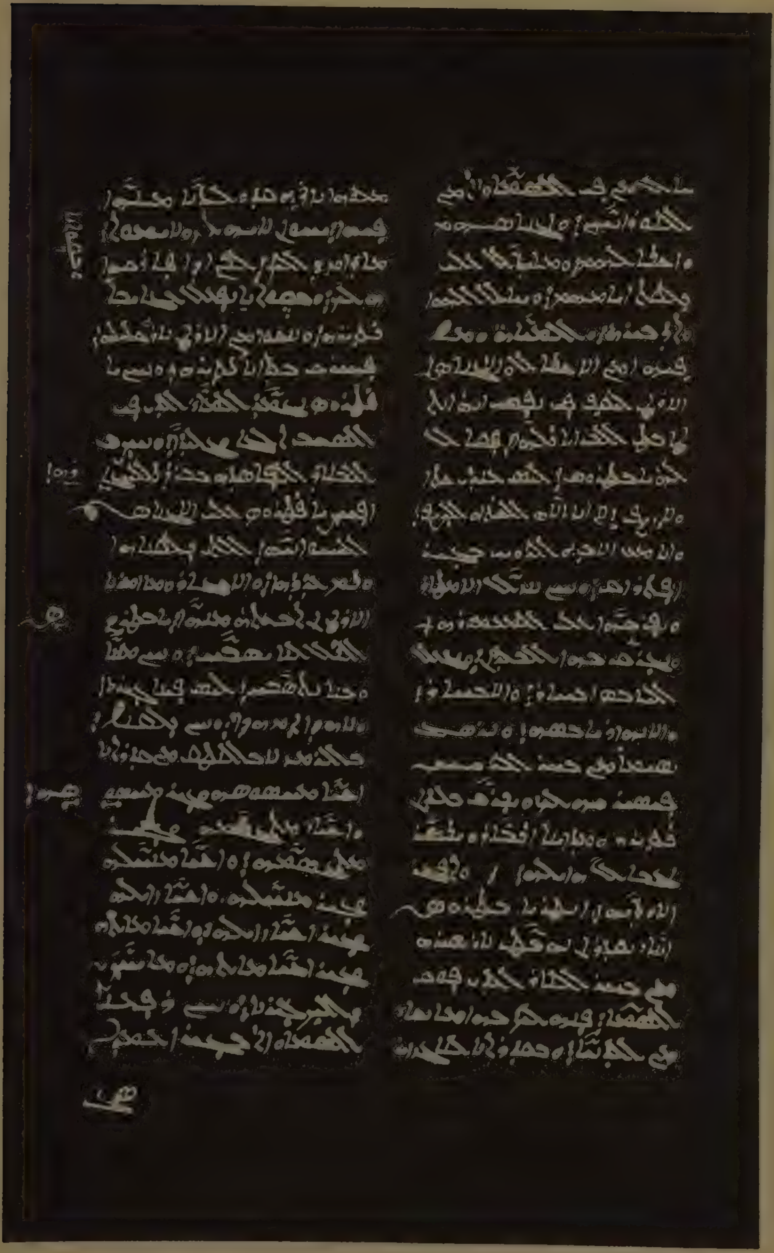


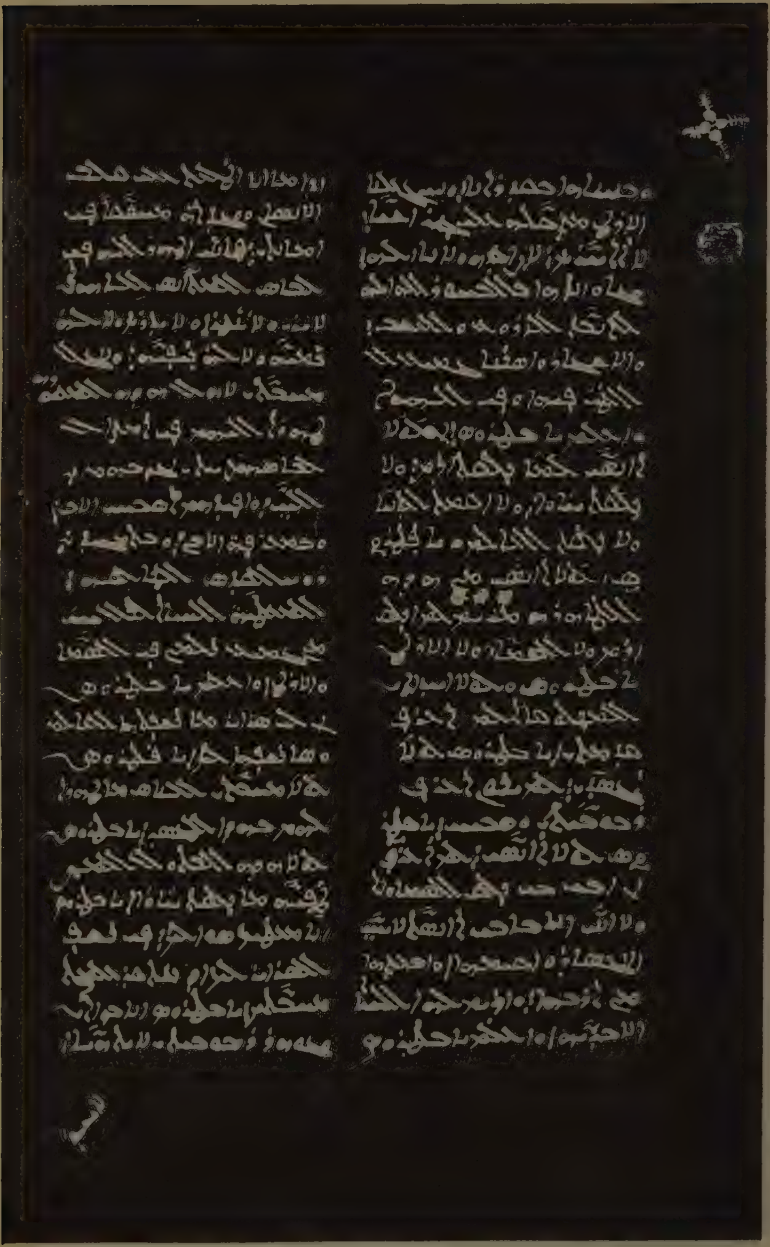


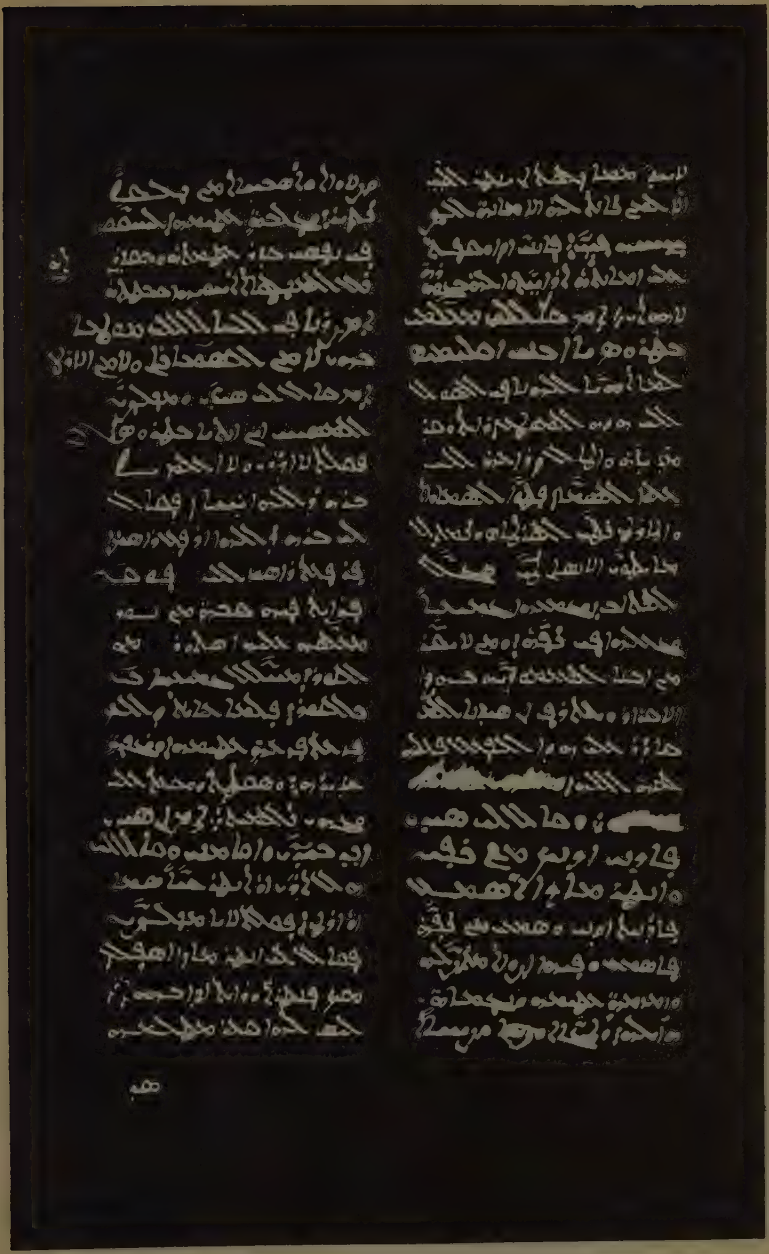


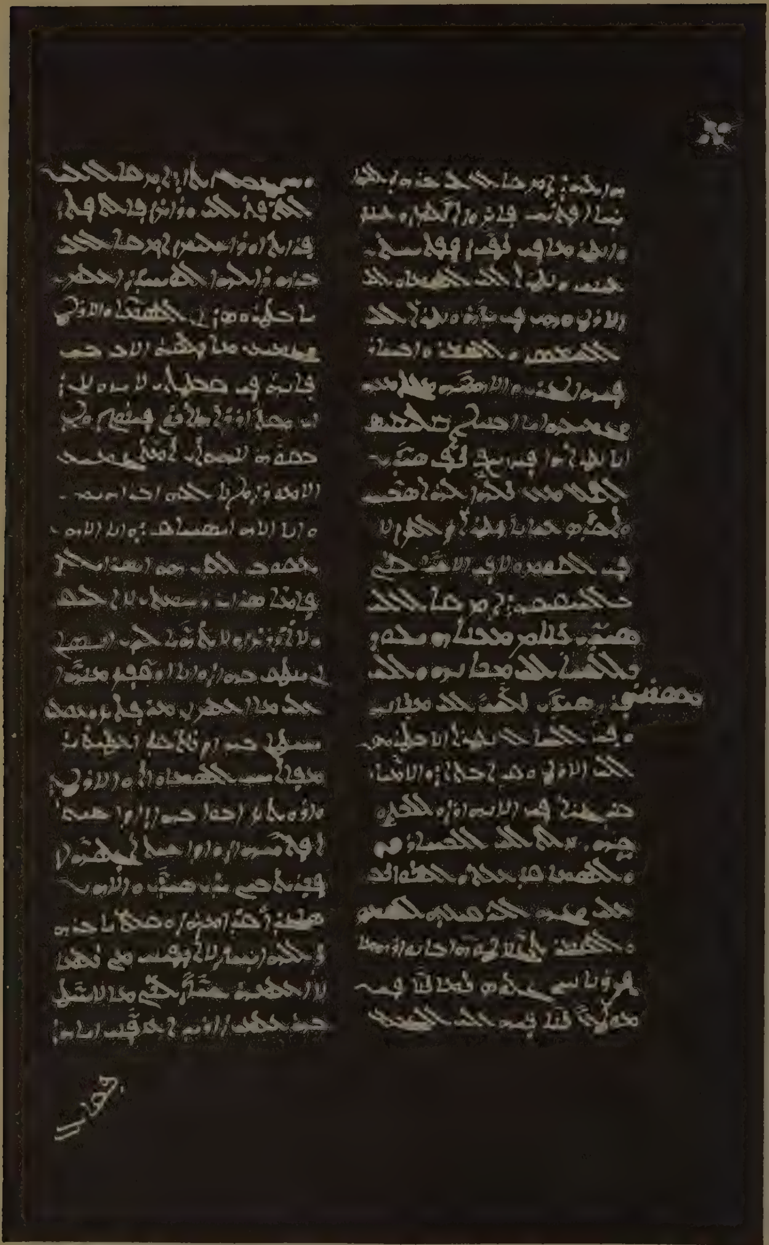


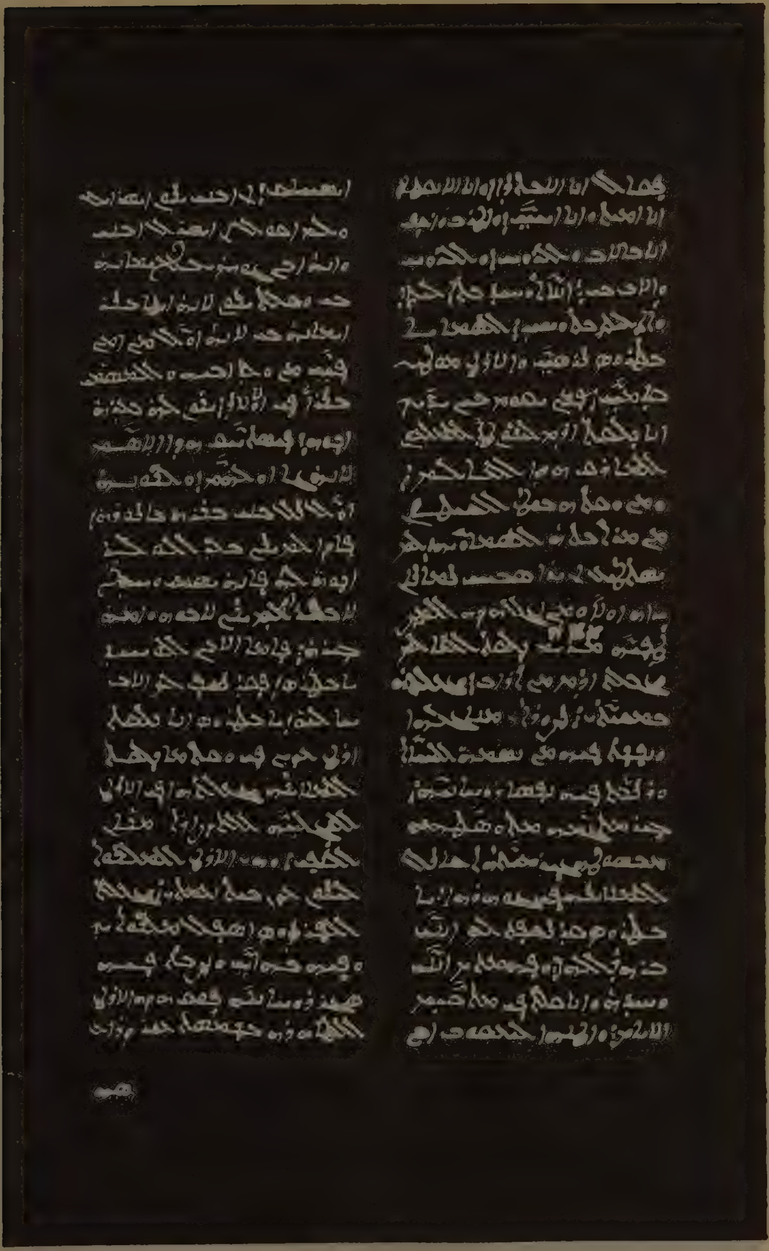


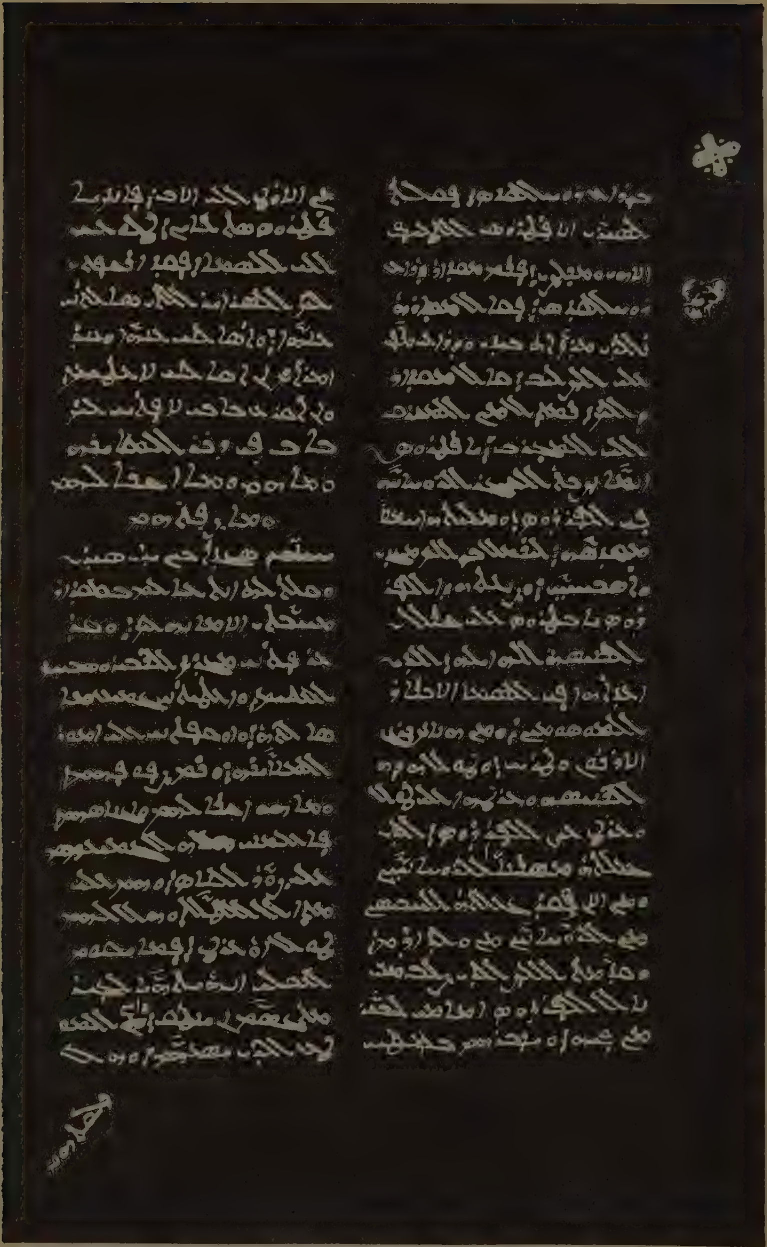


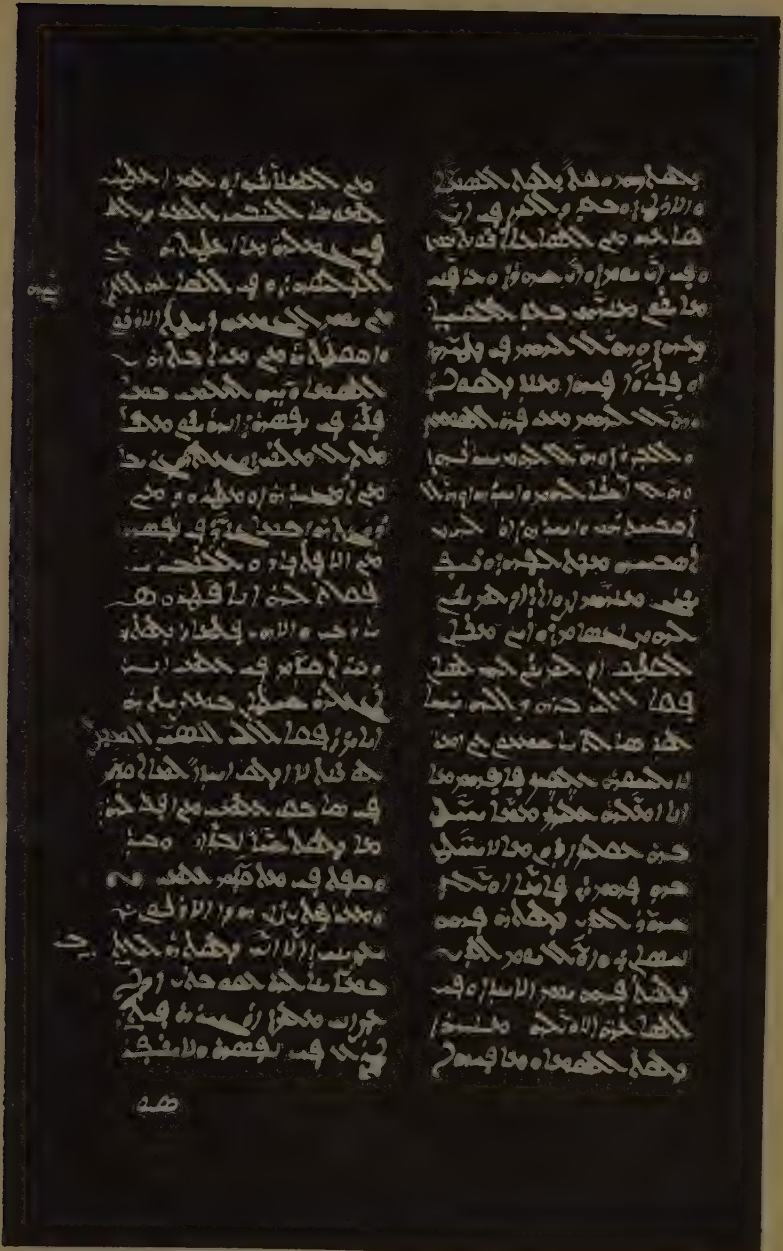


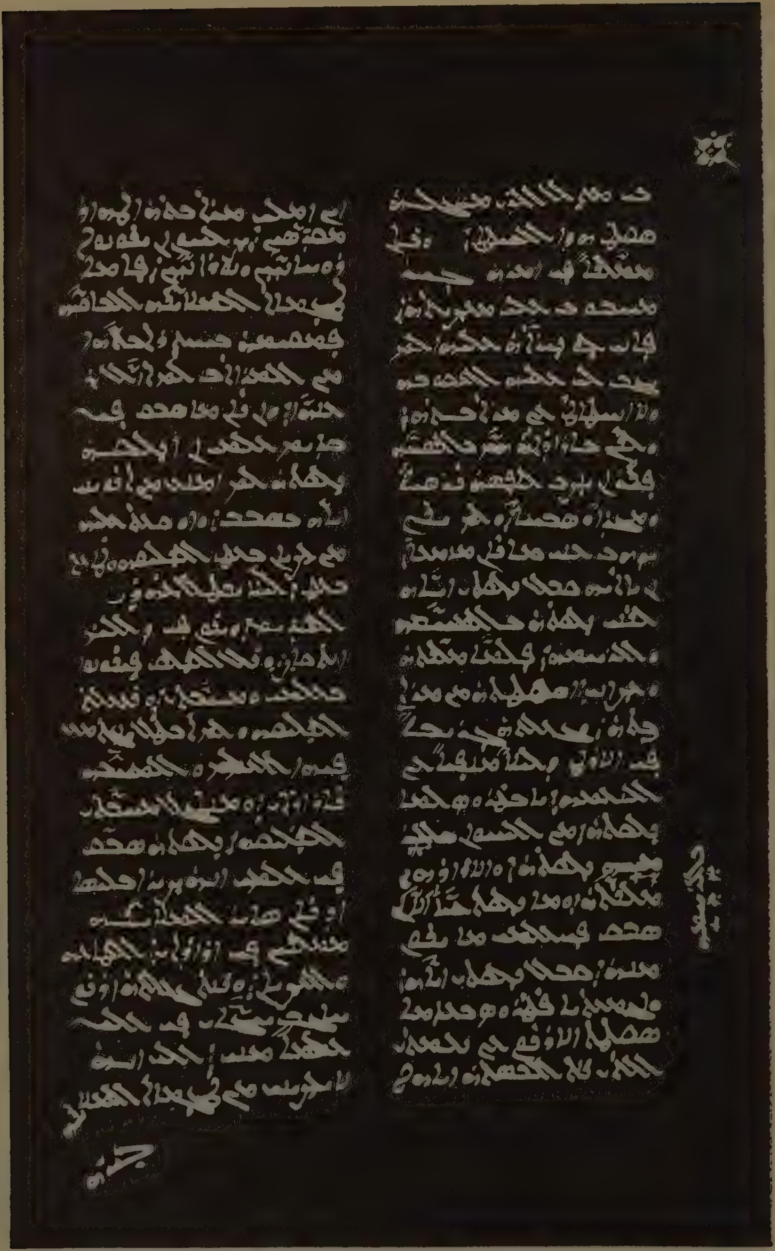


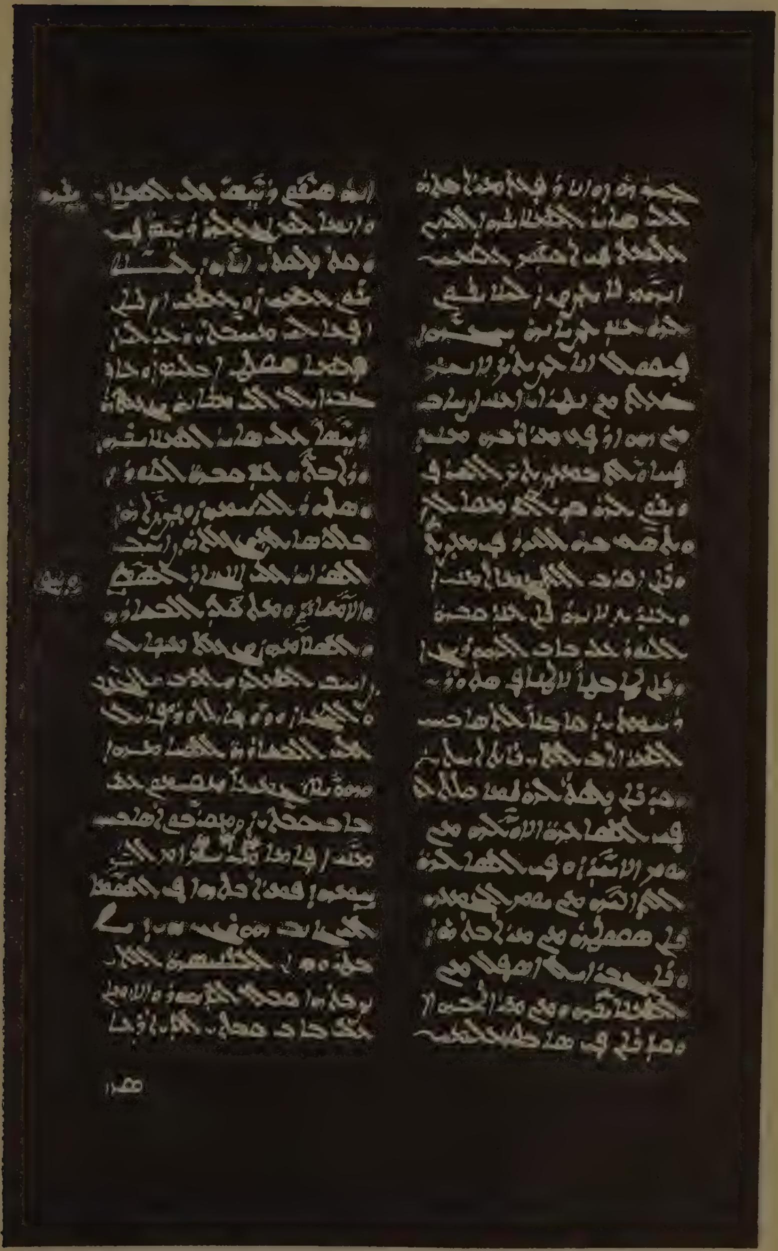


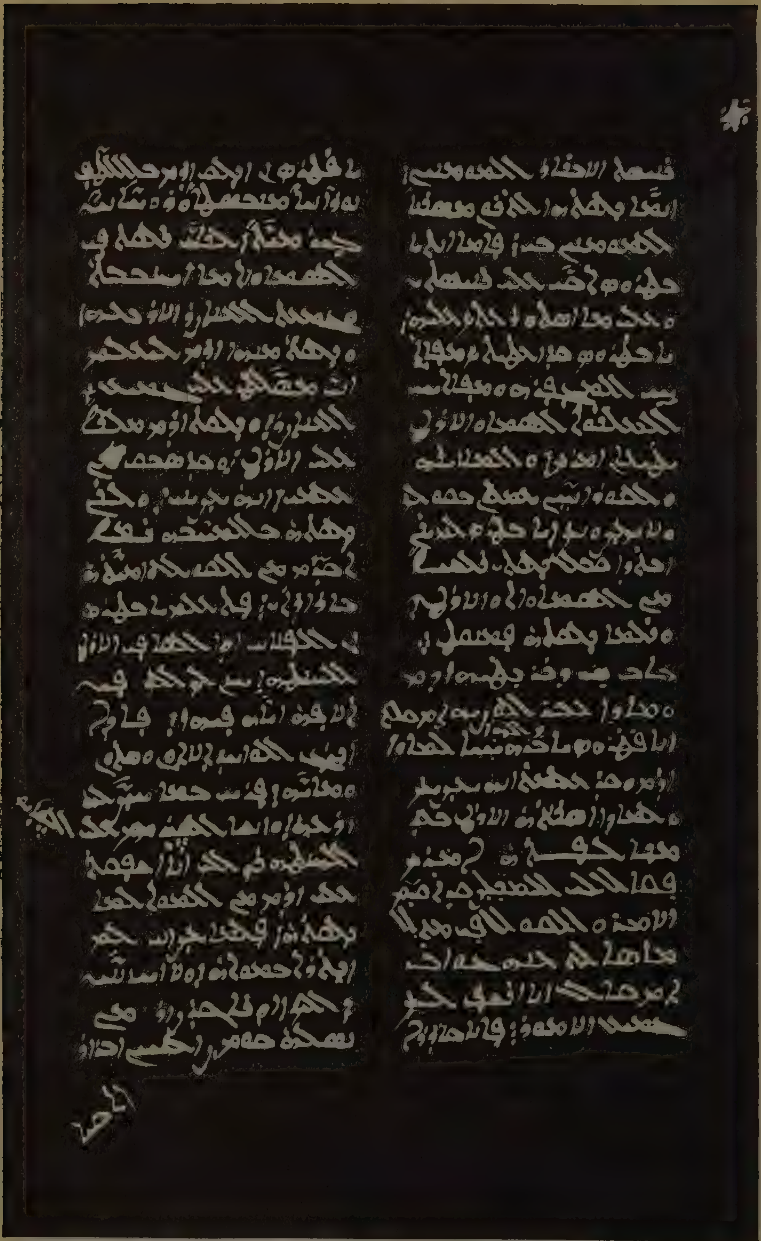


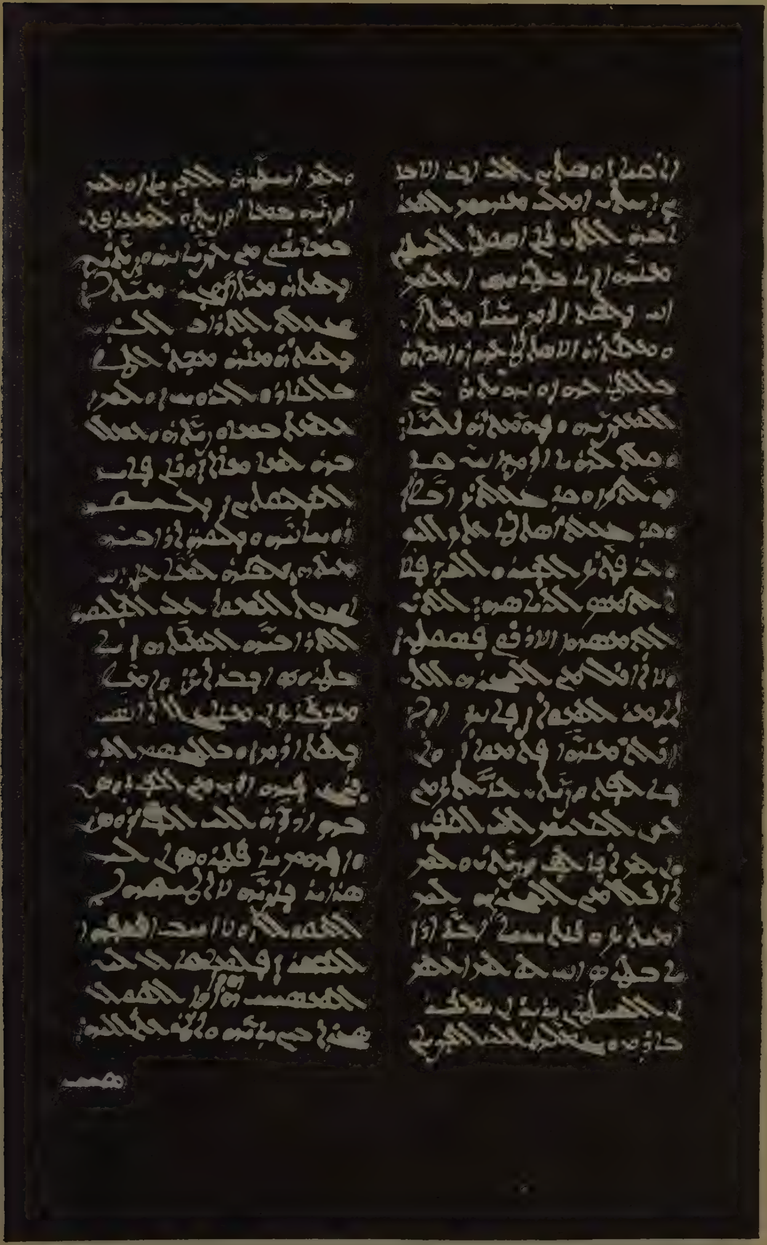


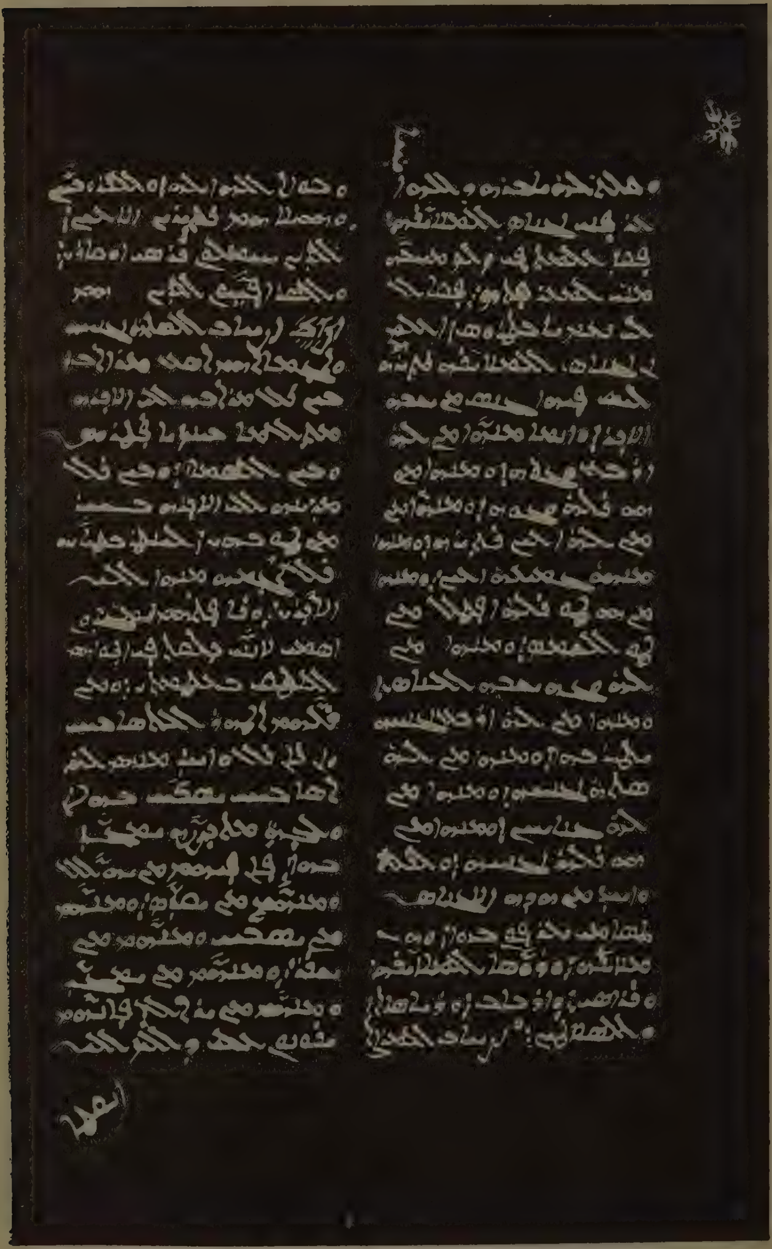


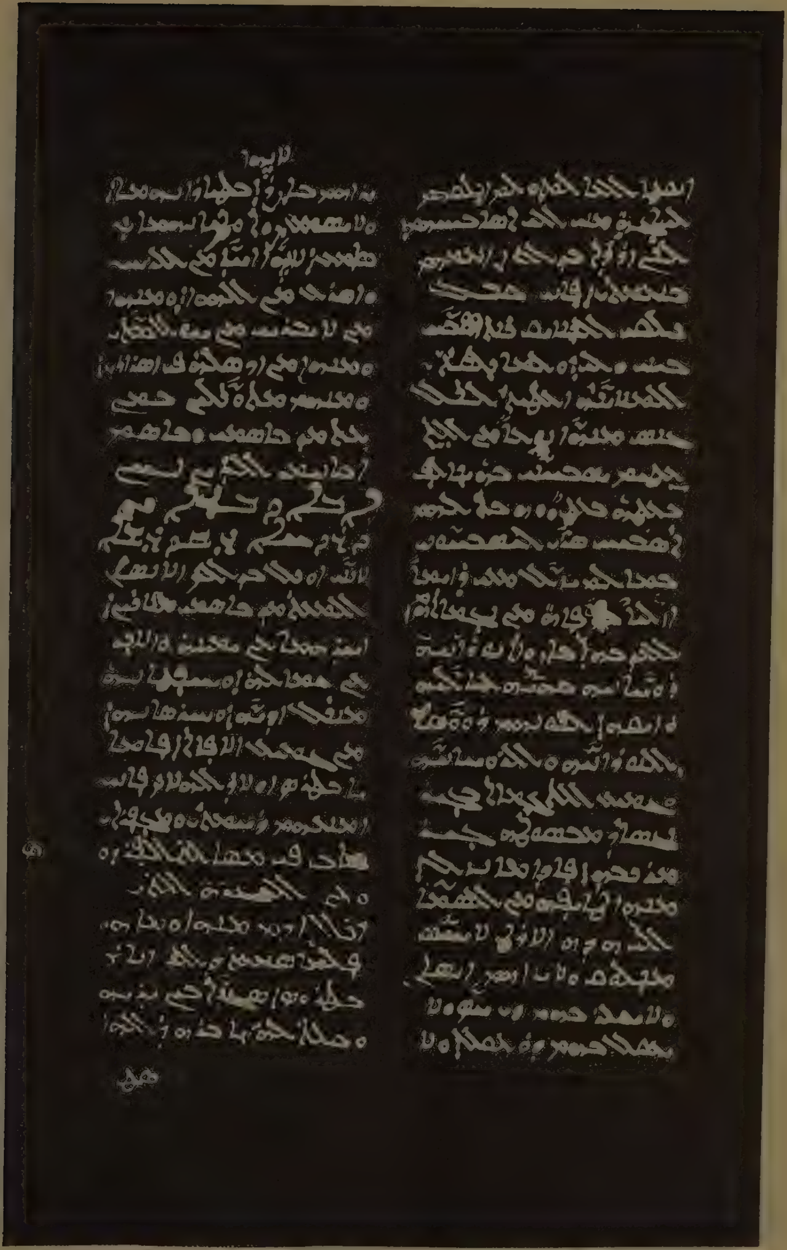


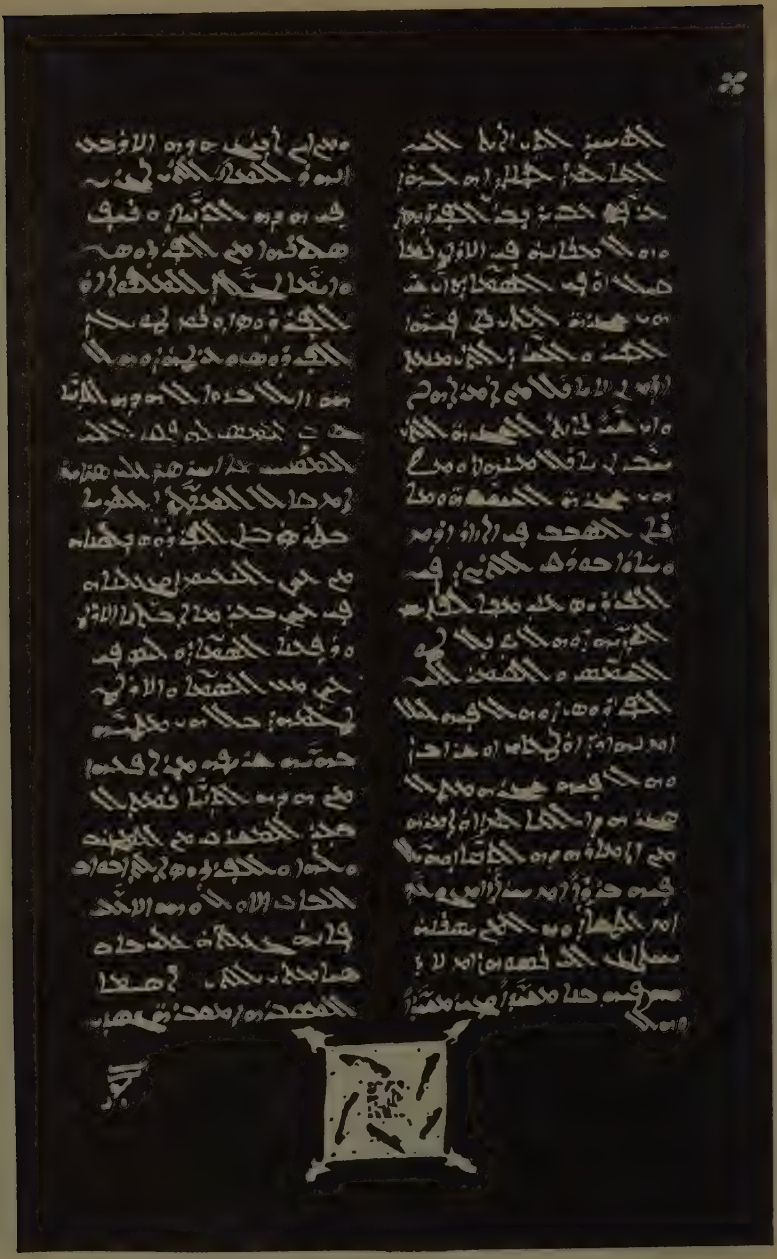


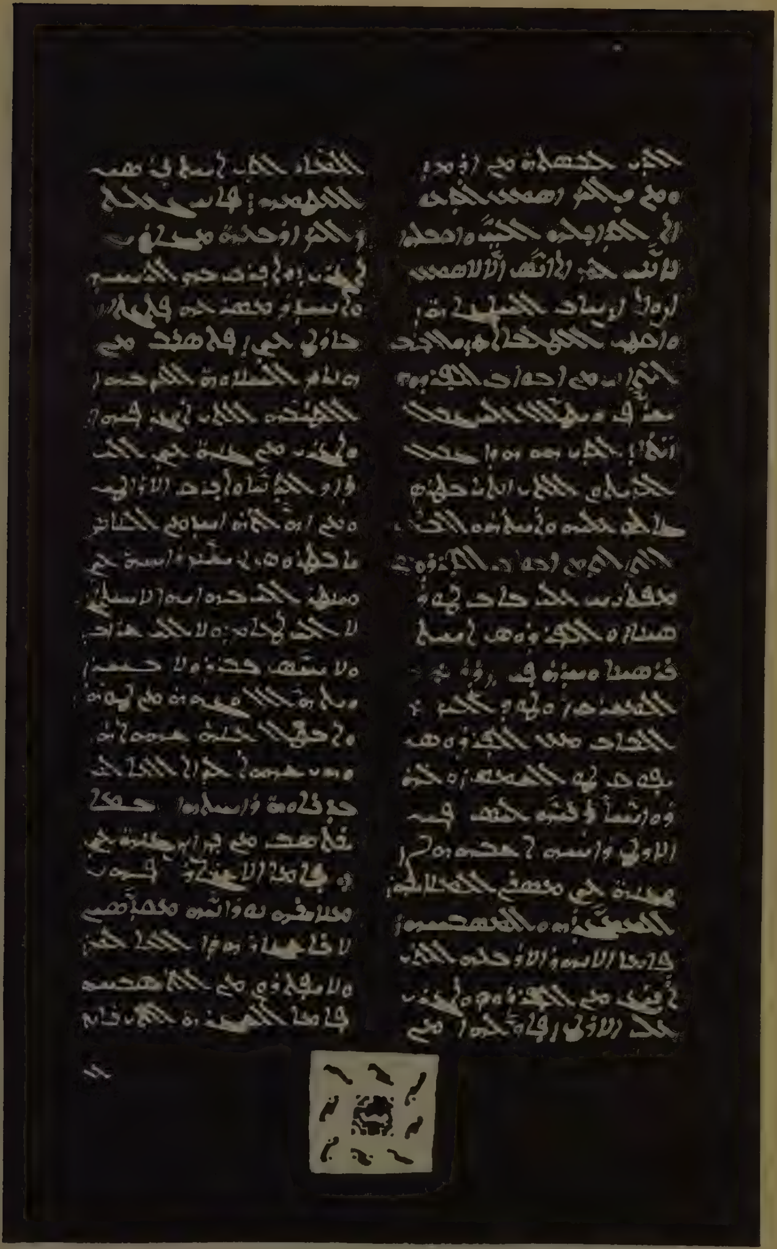


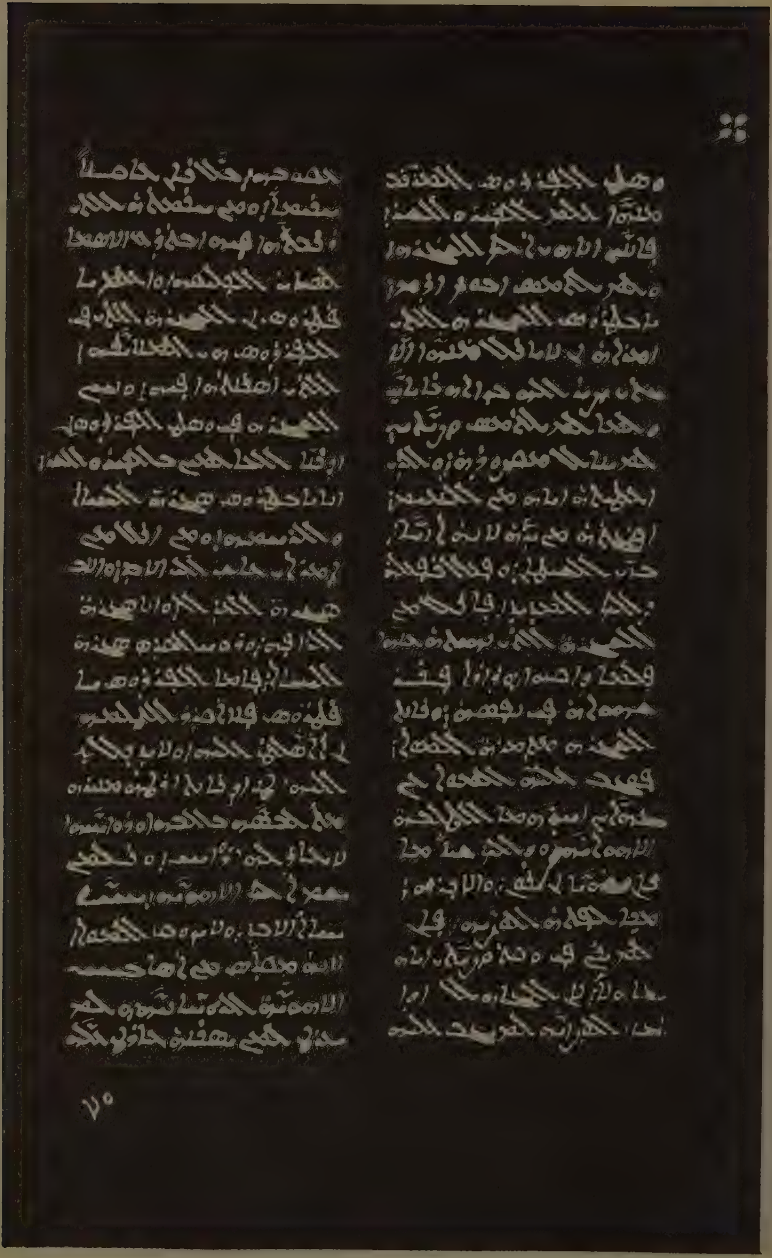


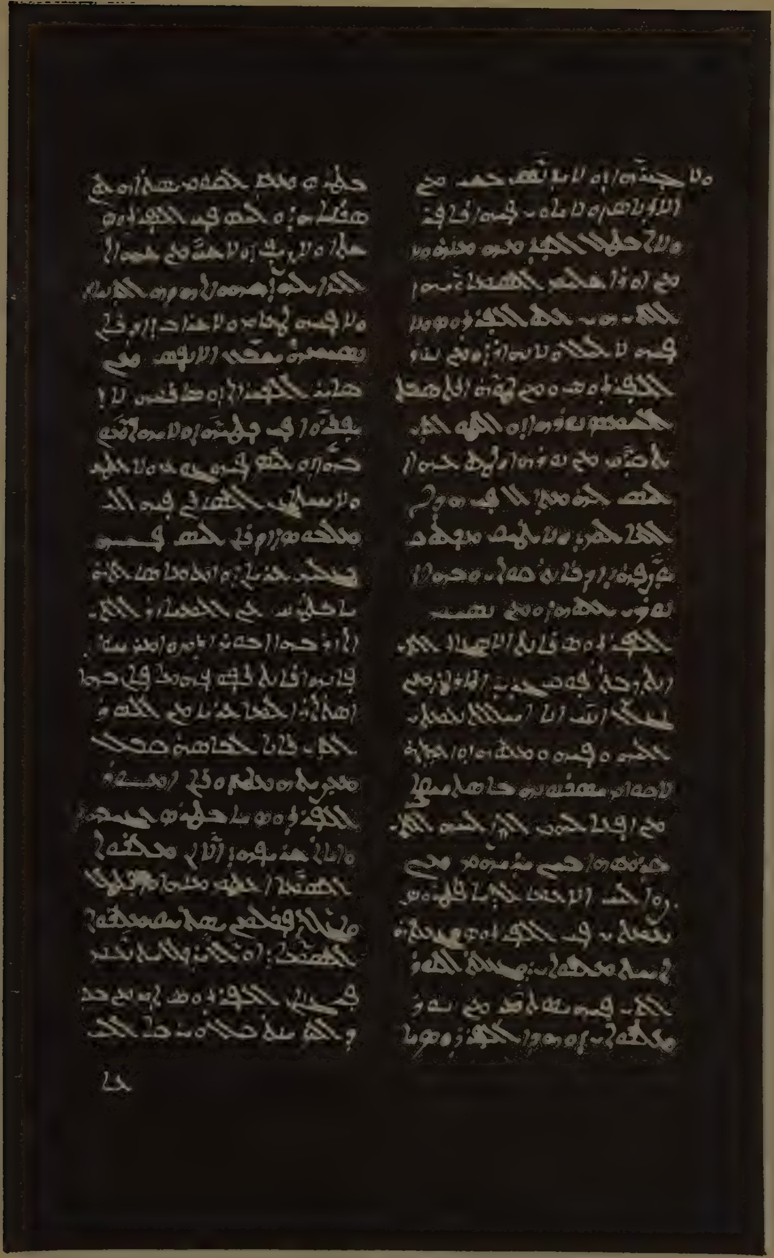


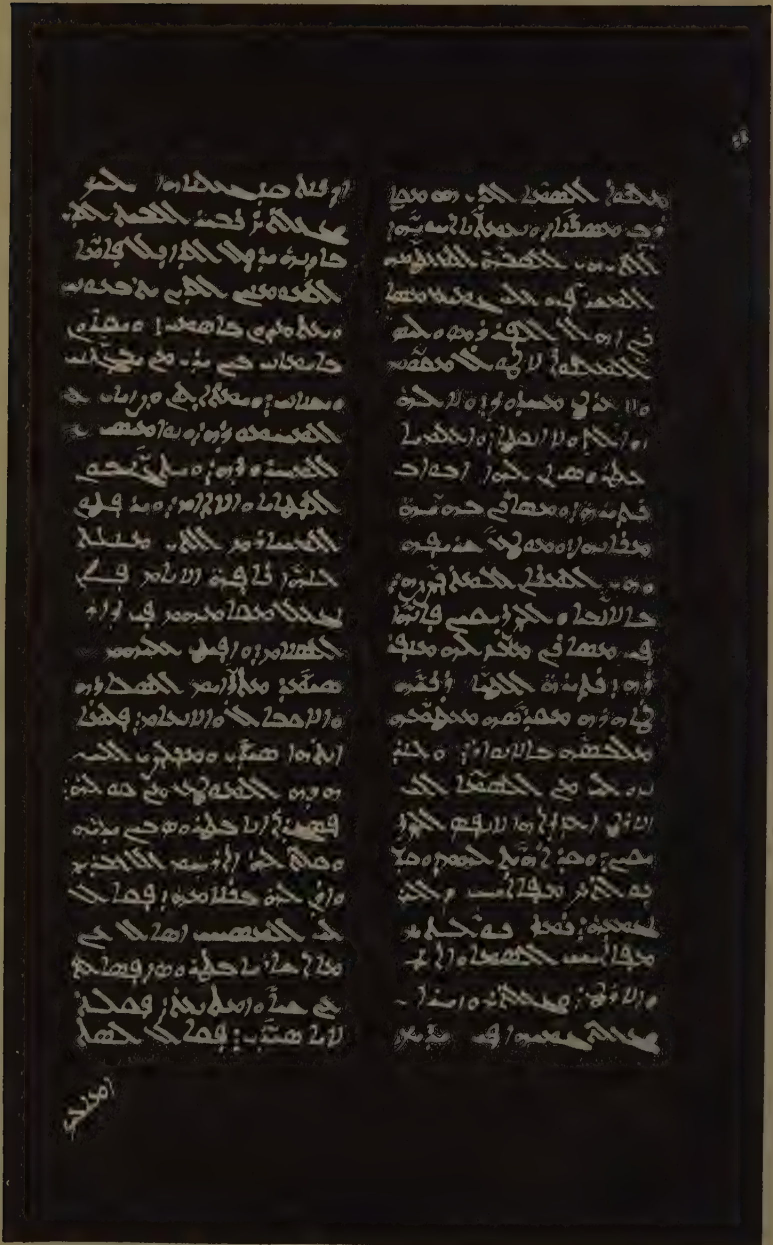


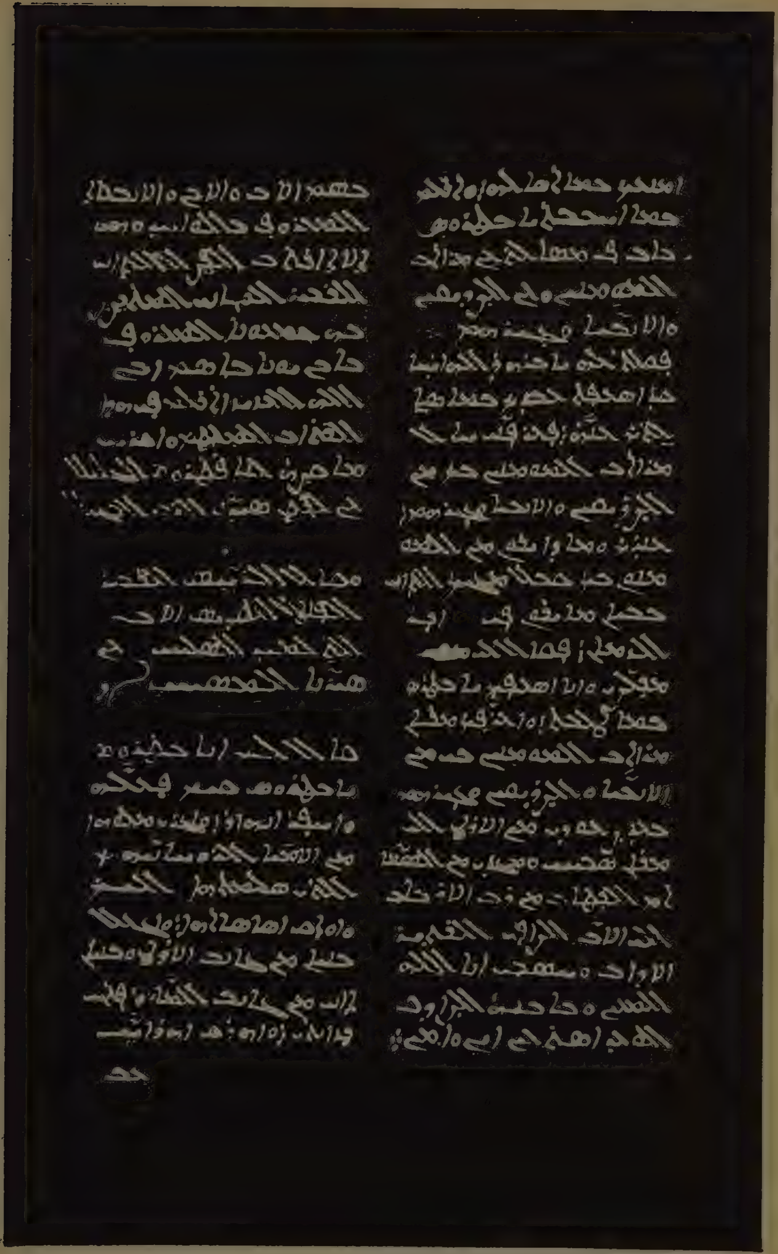


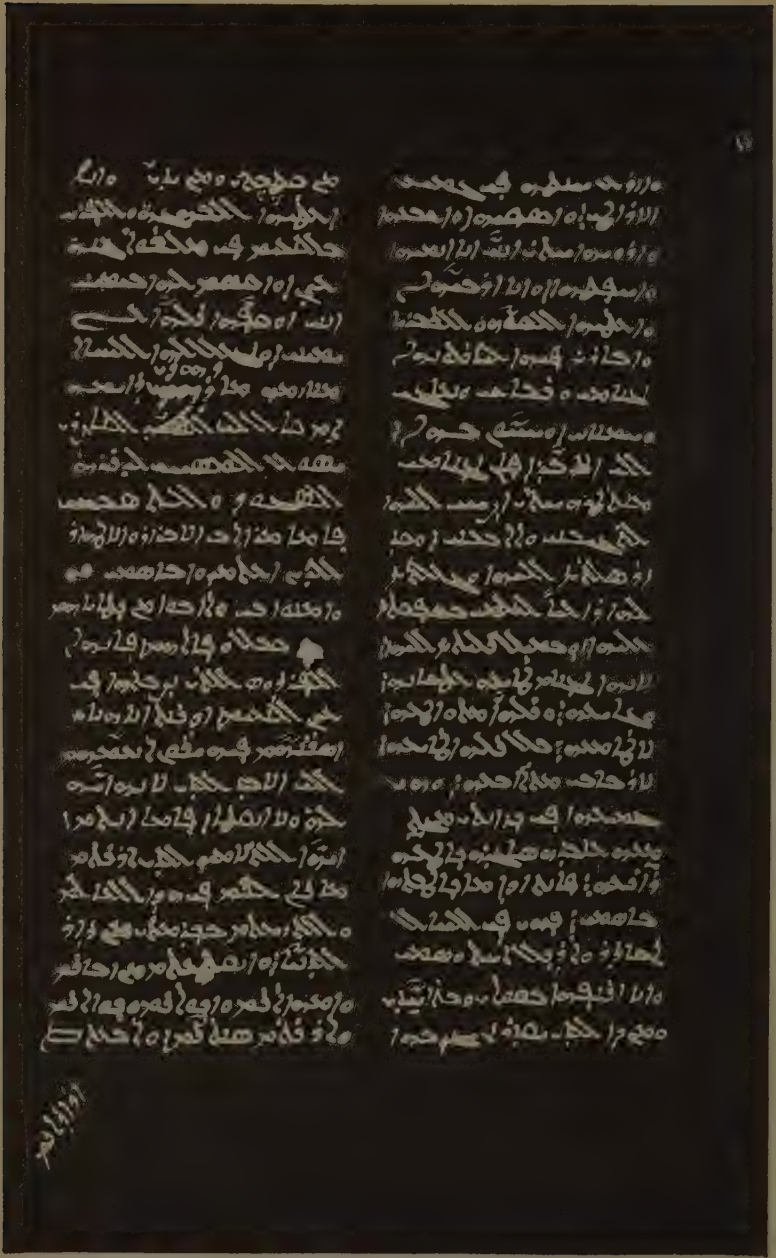


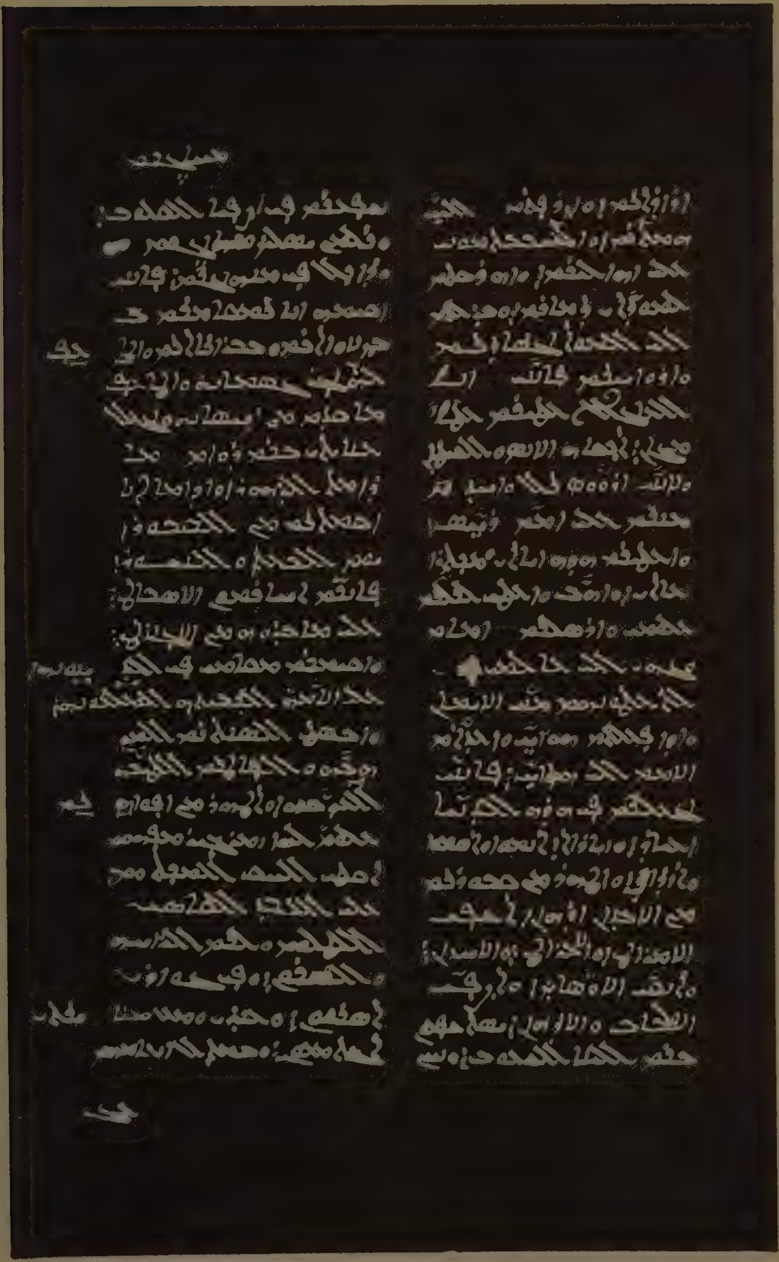


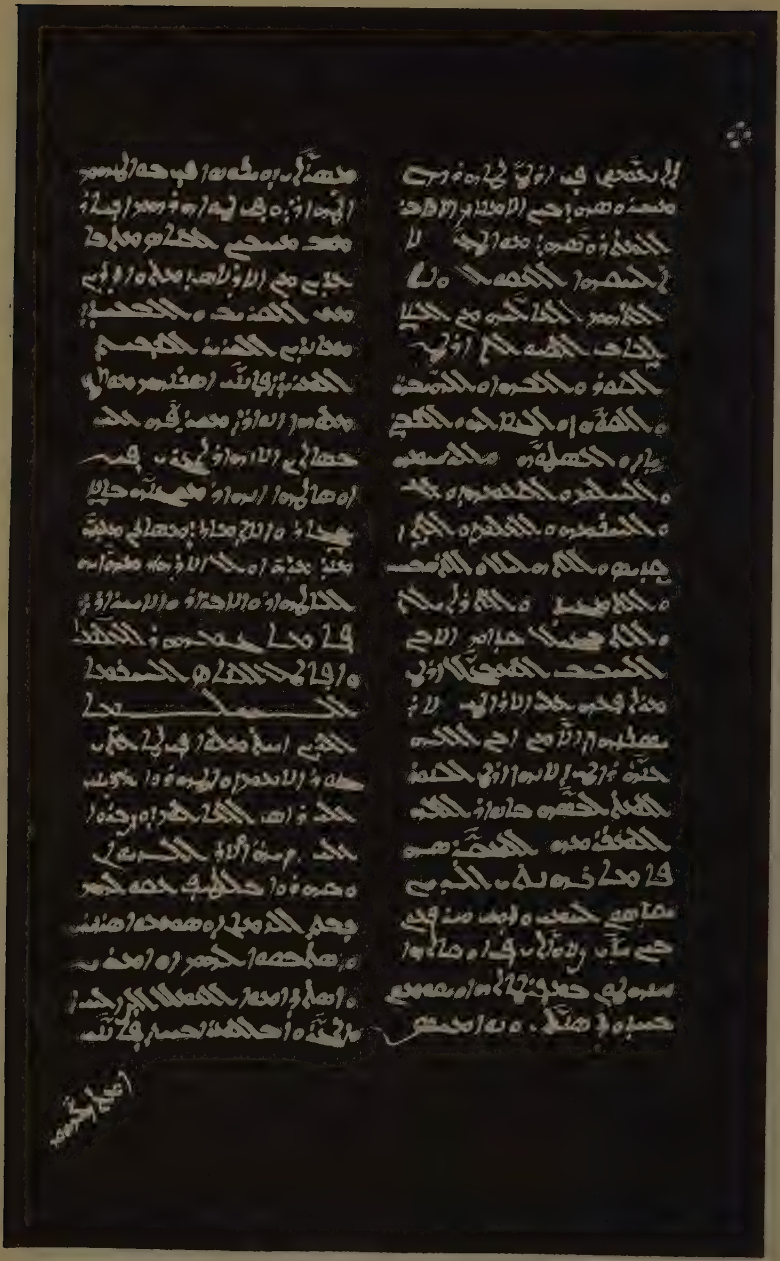


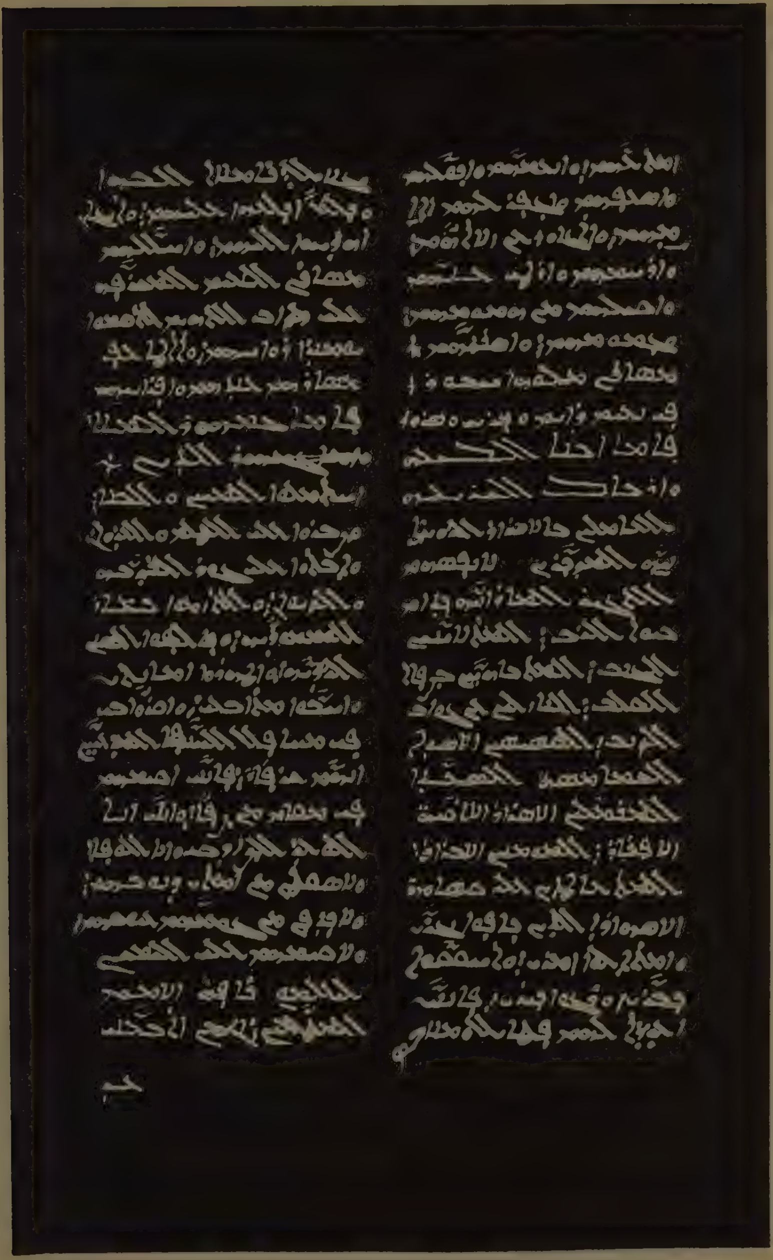


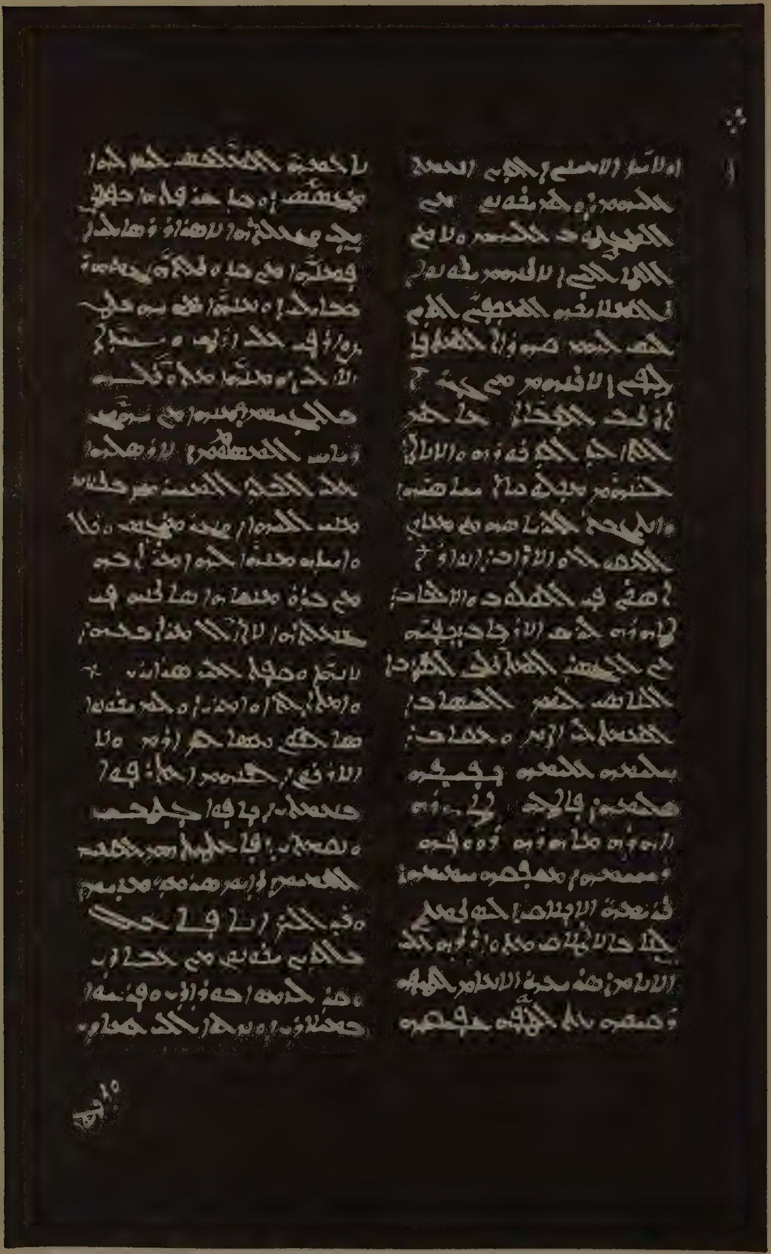


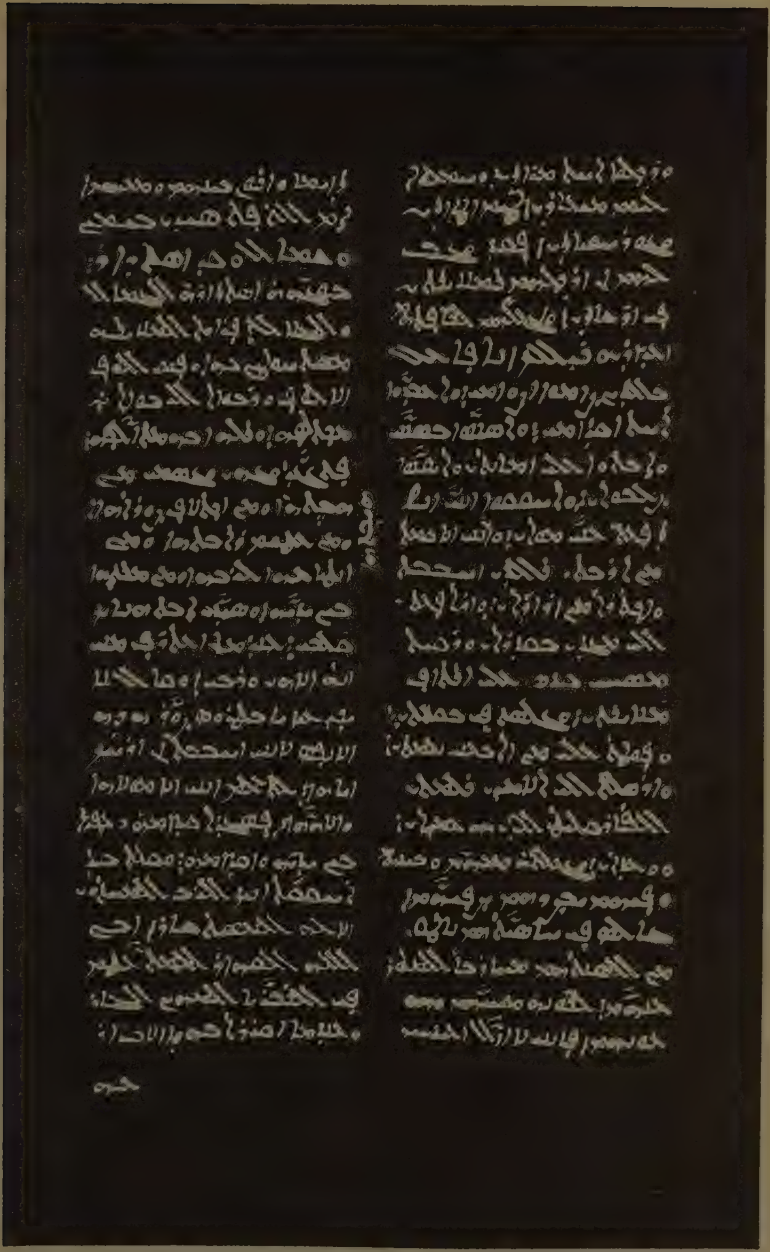


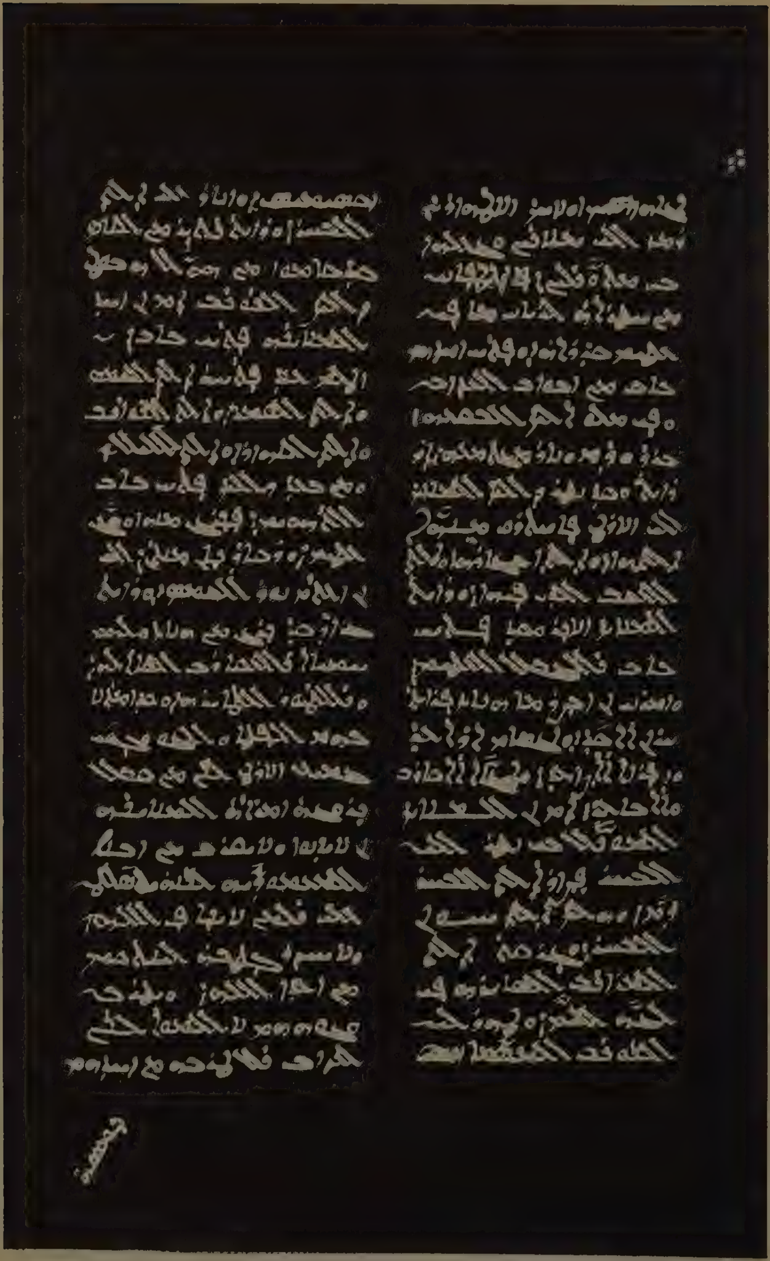


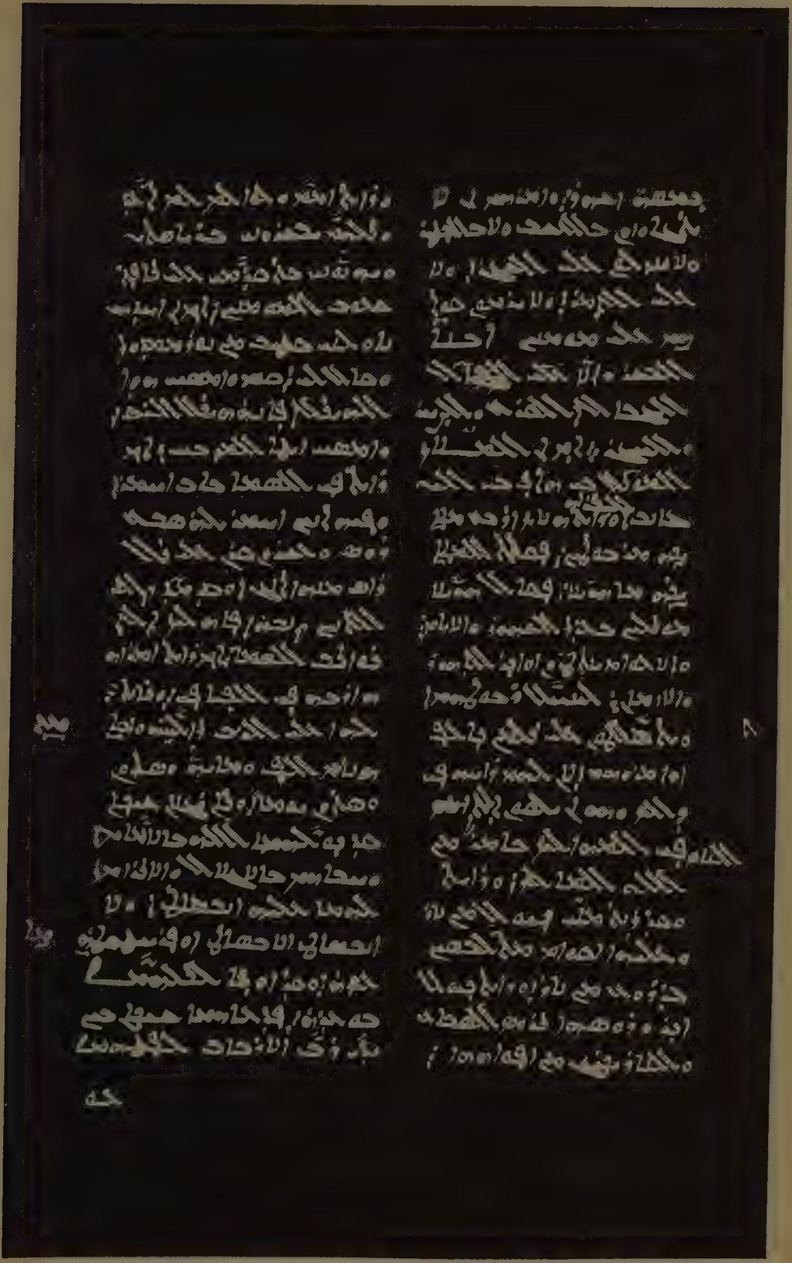


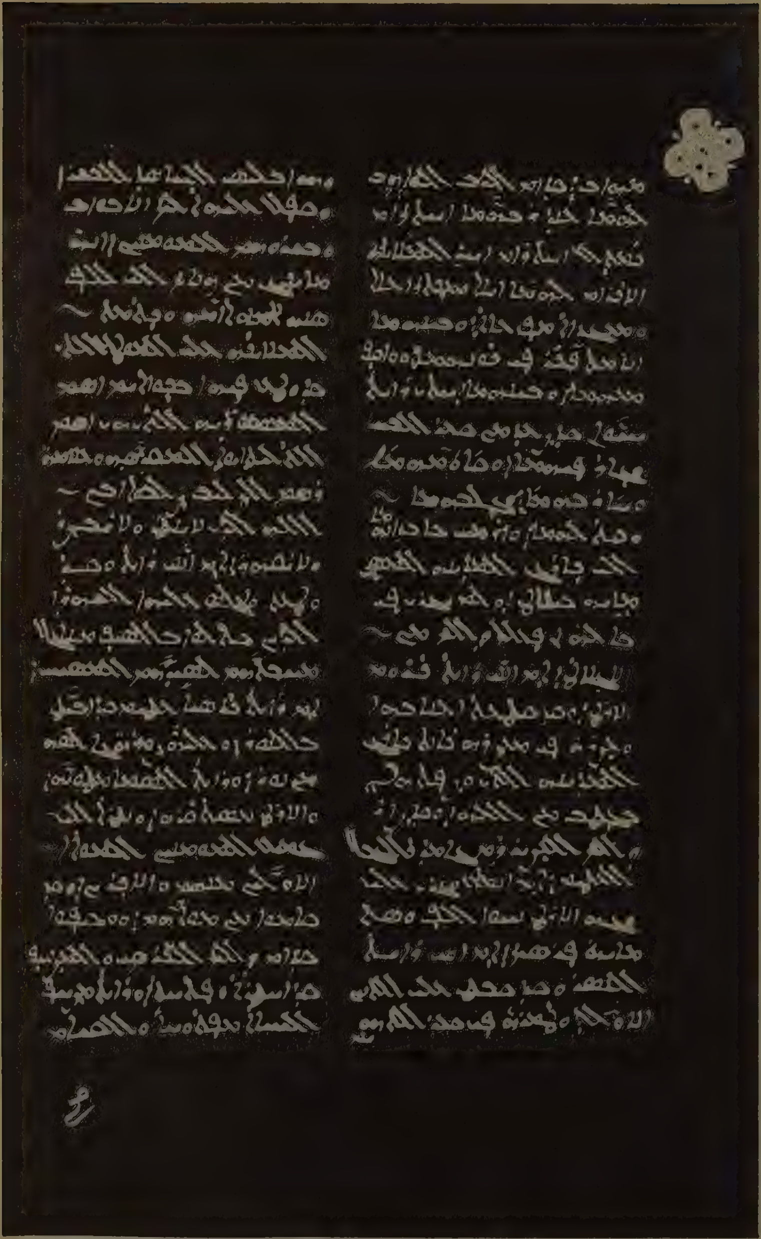


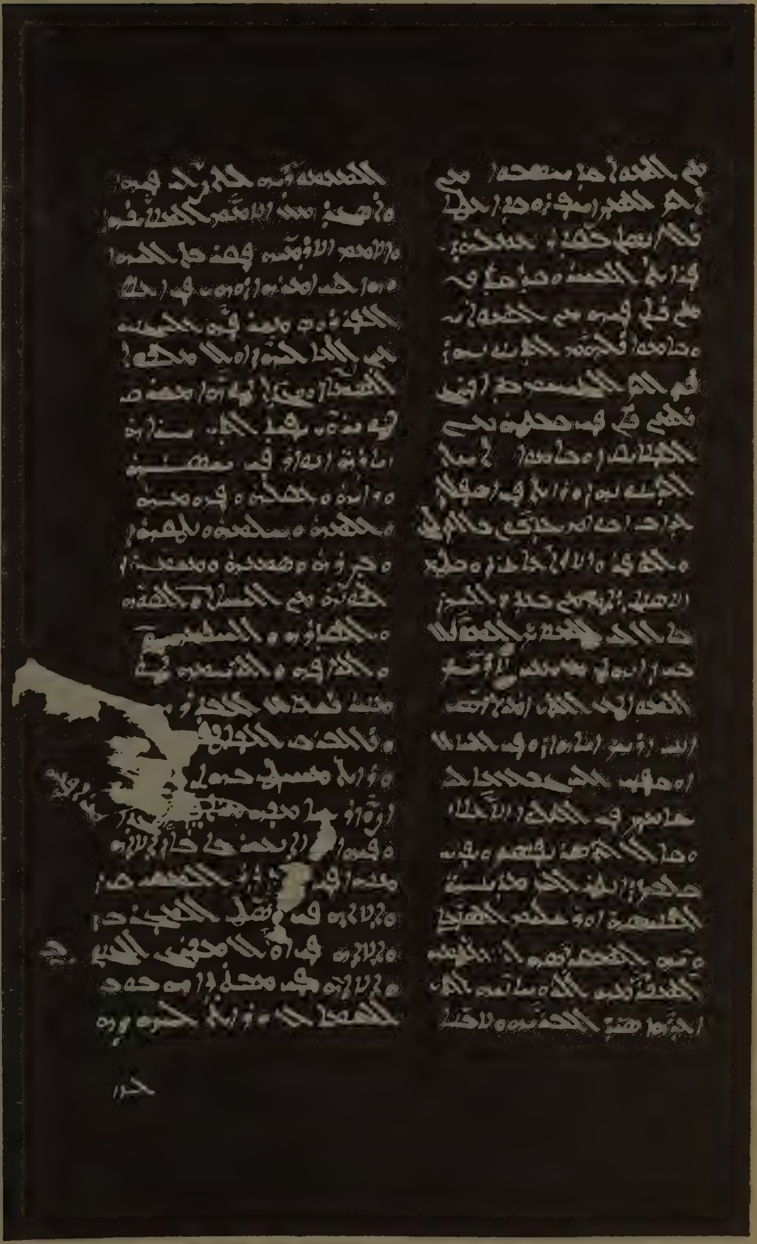


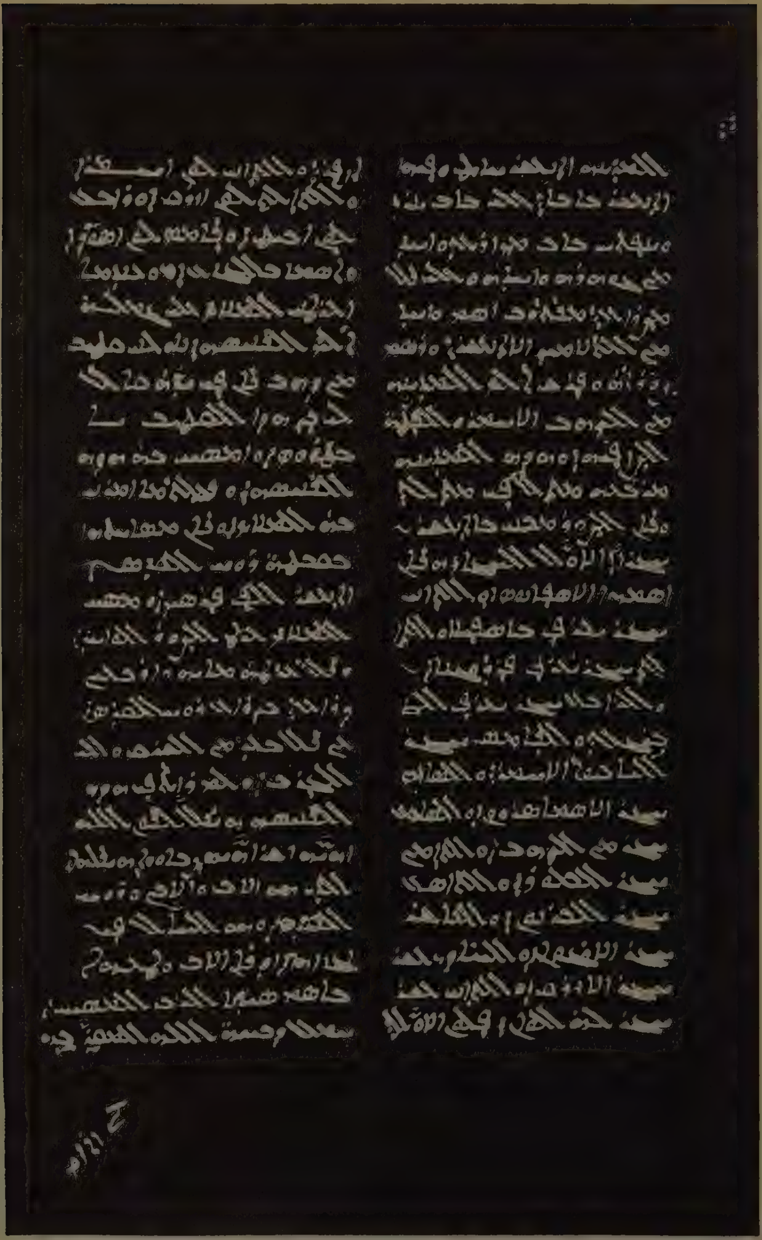


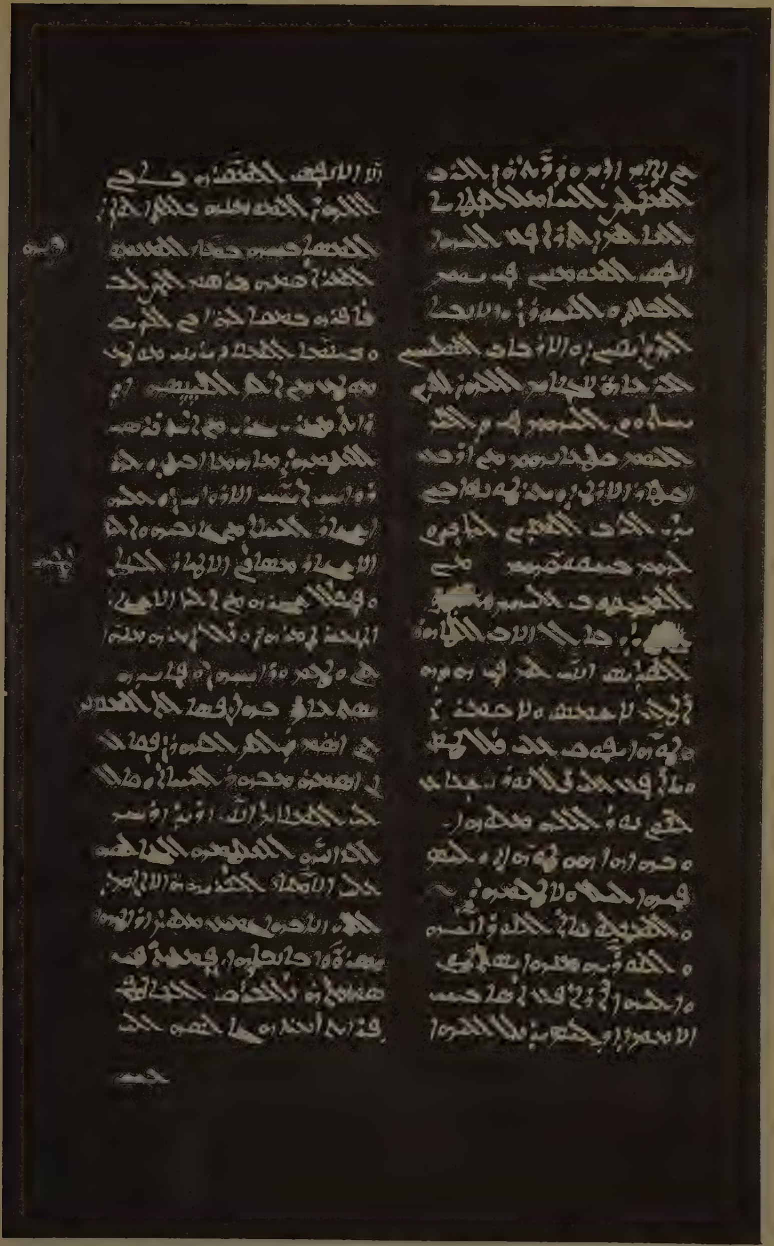


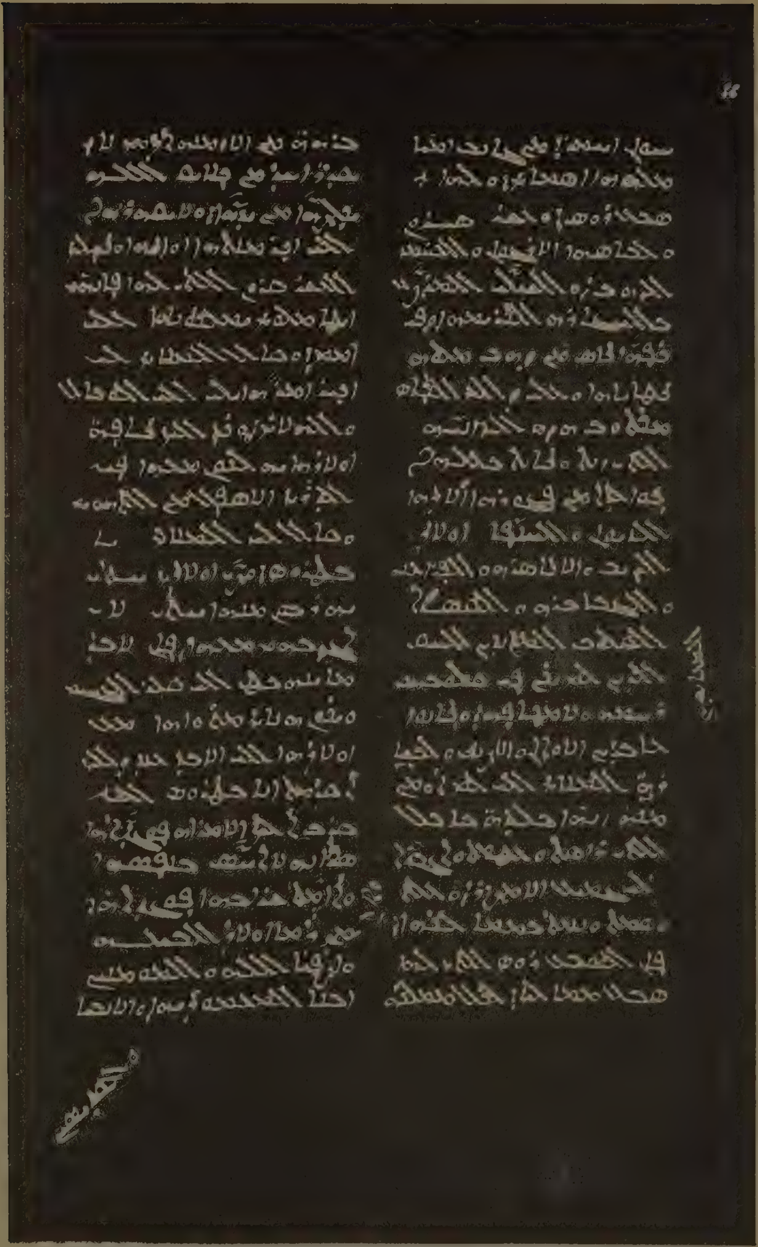


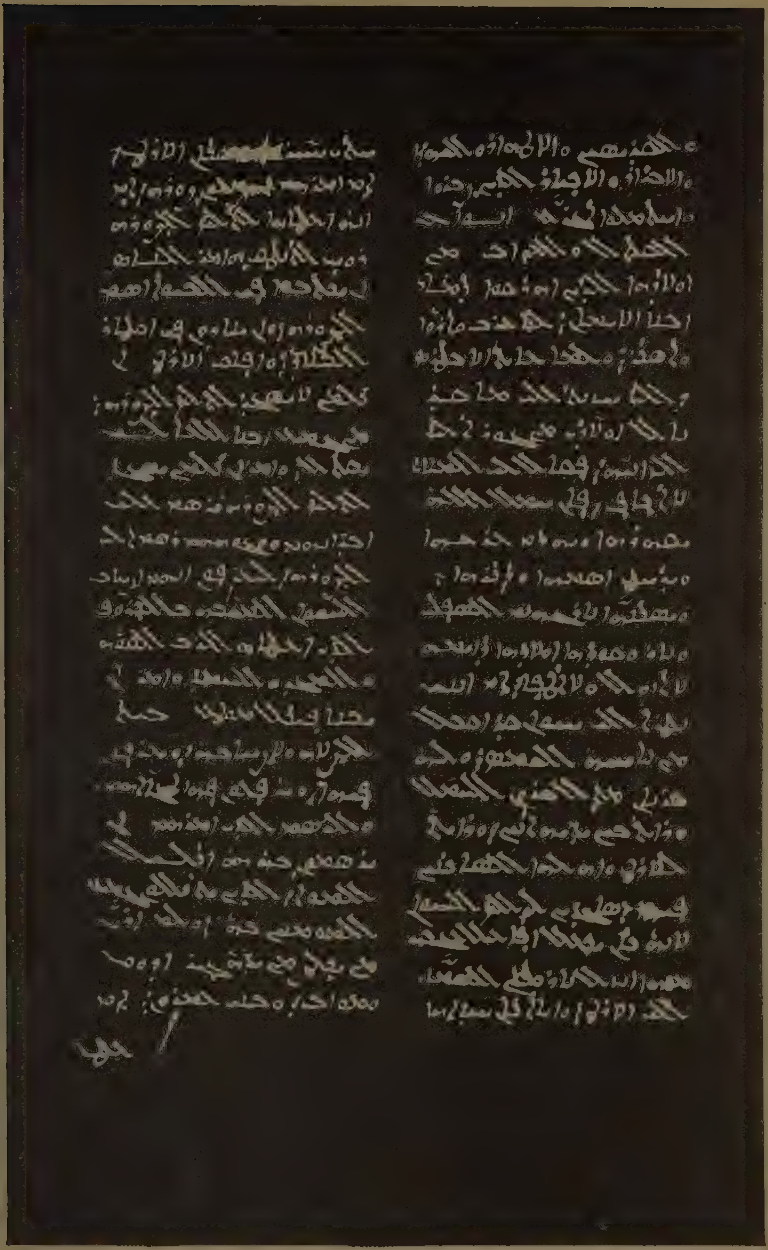


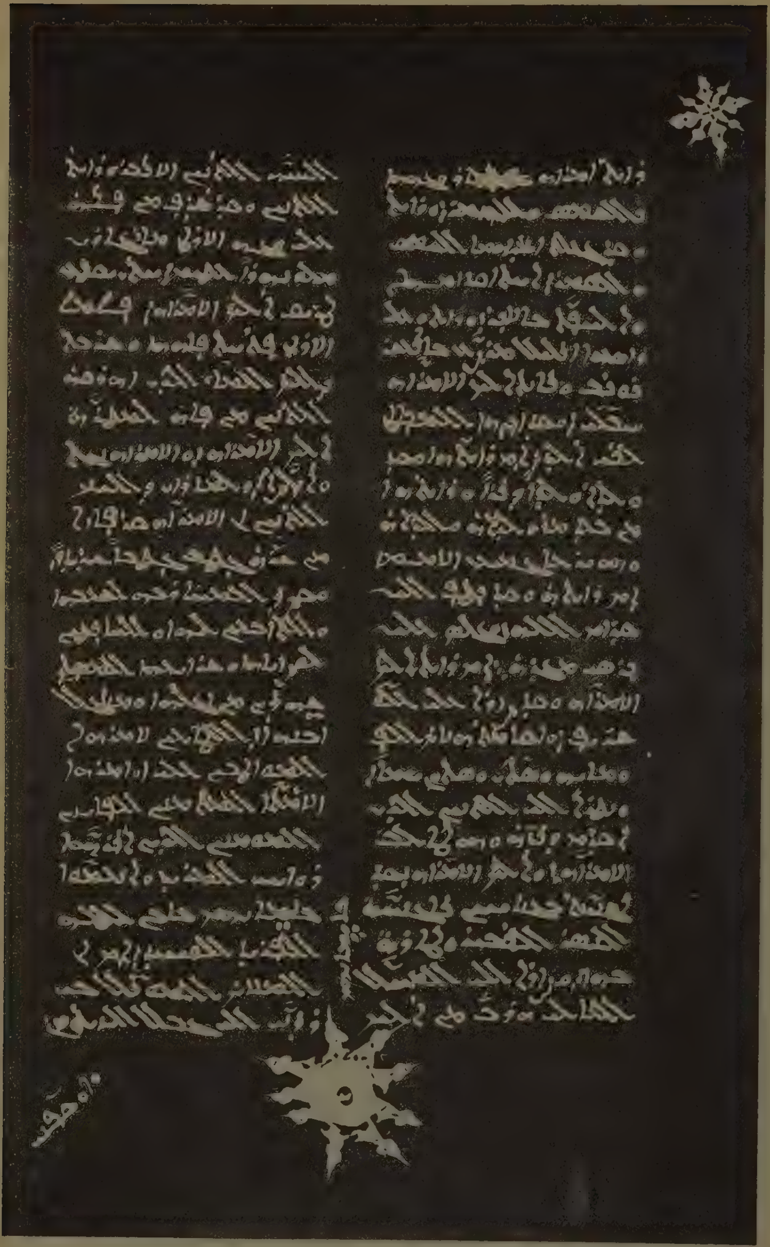


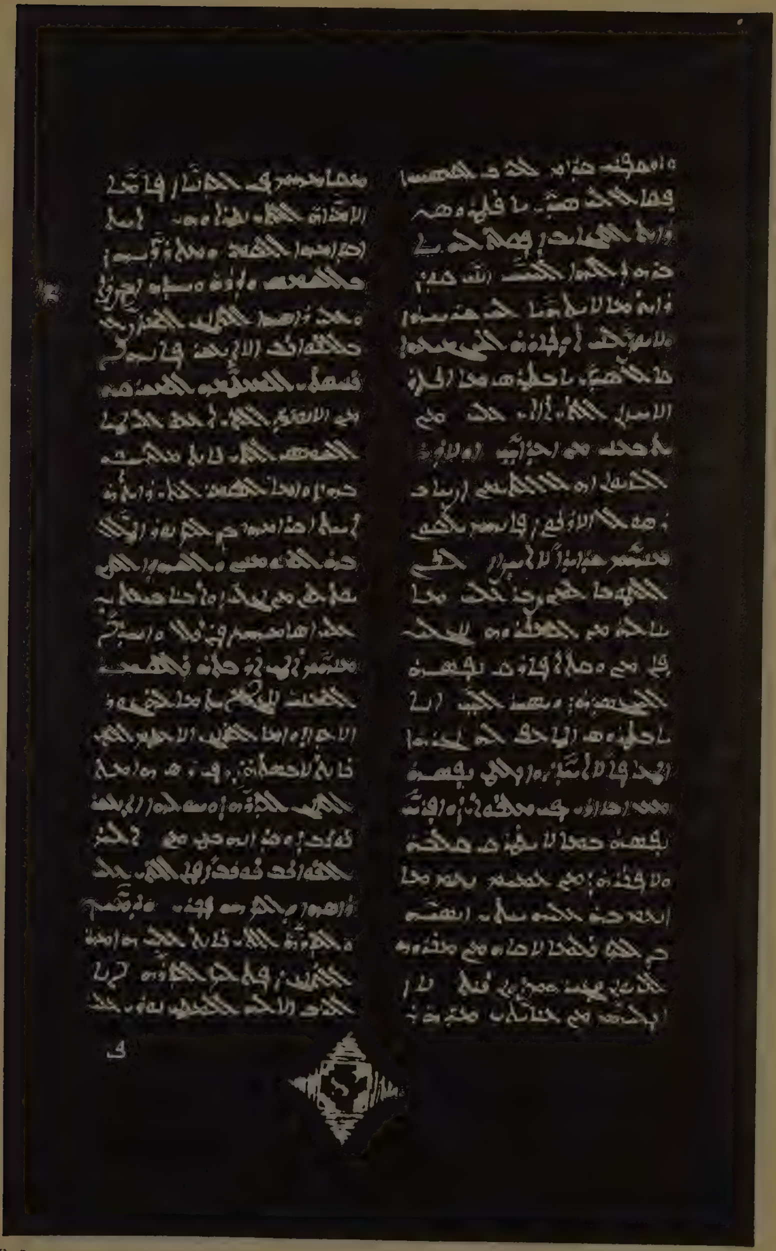


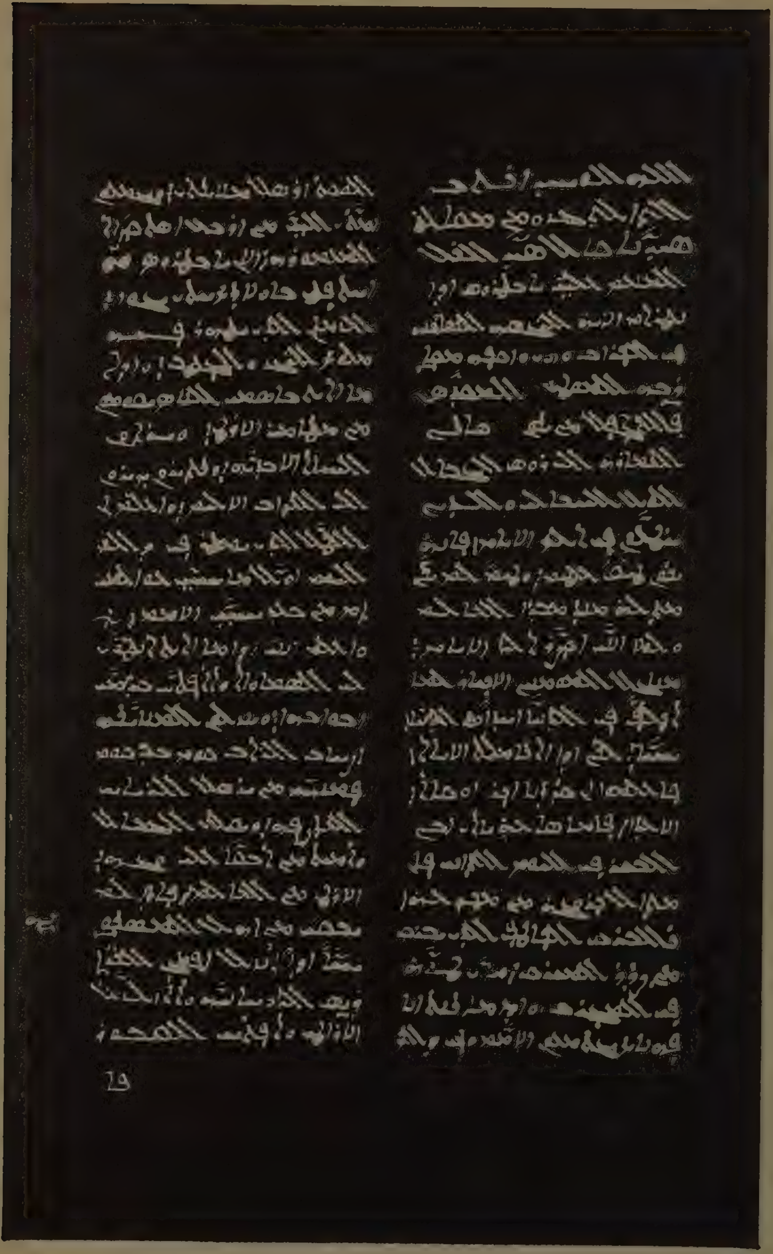


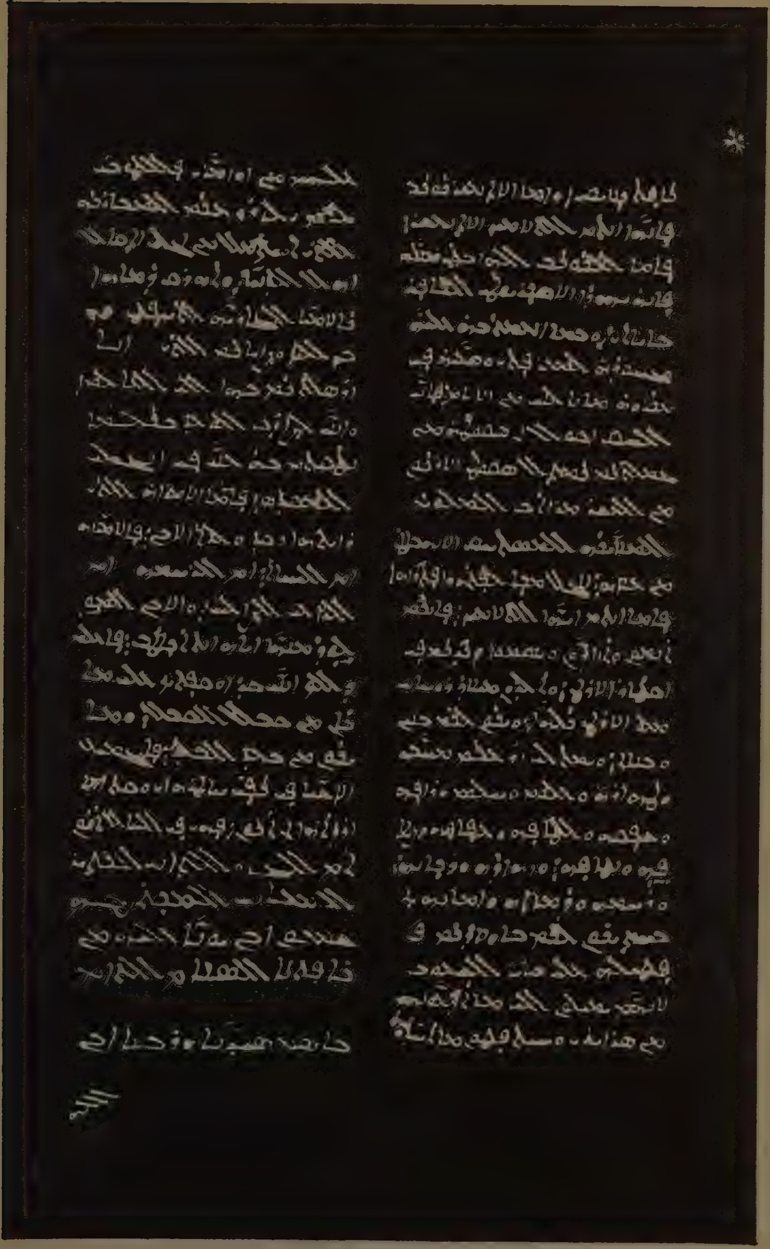












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